The Magazine With A Truly International Outlook

World Unity

THIS MONTH

Disarmament to the Fore—*Editorial*
The Challenge of Today—*Hull*
Orient and Occident—*Kohn*
The Novel of the War Years—*Newman*
Toyohiko Kagawa—*Miller*

Interpreting the spirit of the new age

World Organization—*Ross*
No More War!—*Schmidt*

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A STATEMENT OF PURPOSE

Issued October 1, 1927

WORLD UNITY MAGAZINE, as its title implies, will endeavor to interpret and record those significant changes in present-day thought which mark the trend toward worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization able to release the finer aspirations of mankind.

Its essential purpose is to make accessible to awakened minds the views and conclusions of creative workers on subjects of truly general interest and importance. The emergence of new and higher values in philosophy, science, religion, ethics and the arts from the alembic of universal unrest represents the focal point of vision for World Unity Magazine.

To create a medium capable of responding faithfully, without prejudice of race, creed, class or nationality, to the uprush of the spirit of the age wherever or however manifested—this is the ideal to which World Unity Magazine is devoted; and faith in humanity arising at last to assert its organic oneness, the foundation on which it stands.

Constructive suggestions will be heartily welcomed from progressive individuals and organizations to assist the Magazine to fulfill its function as a clearing-house of ideas and plans reflecting the organic trends of the age toward world unity and cooperation. The Magazine will endeavor to publish significant articles of a stimulating character, without assuming responsibility for its contributors' views.

WORLD UNITY

INTERPRETING
THE SPIRIT OF THE AGE

JOHN HERMAN RANDALL, *Editor*
HORACE HOLLEY, *Managing Editor*

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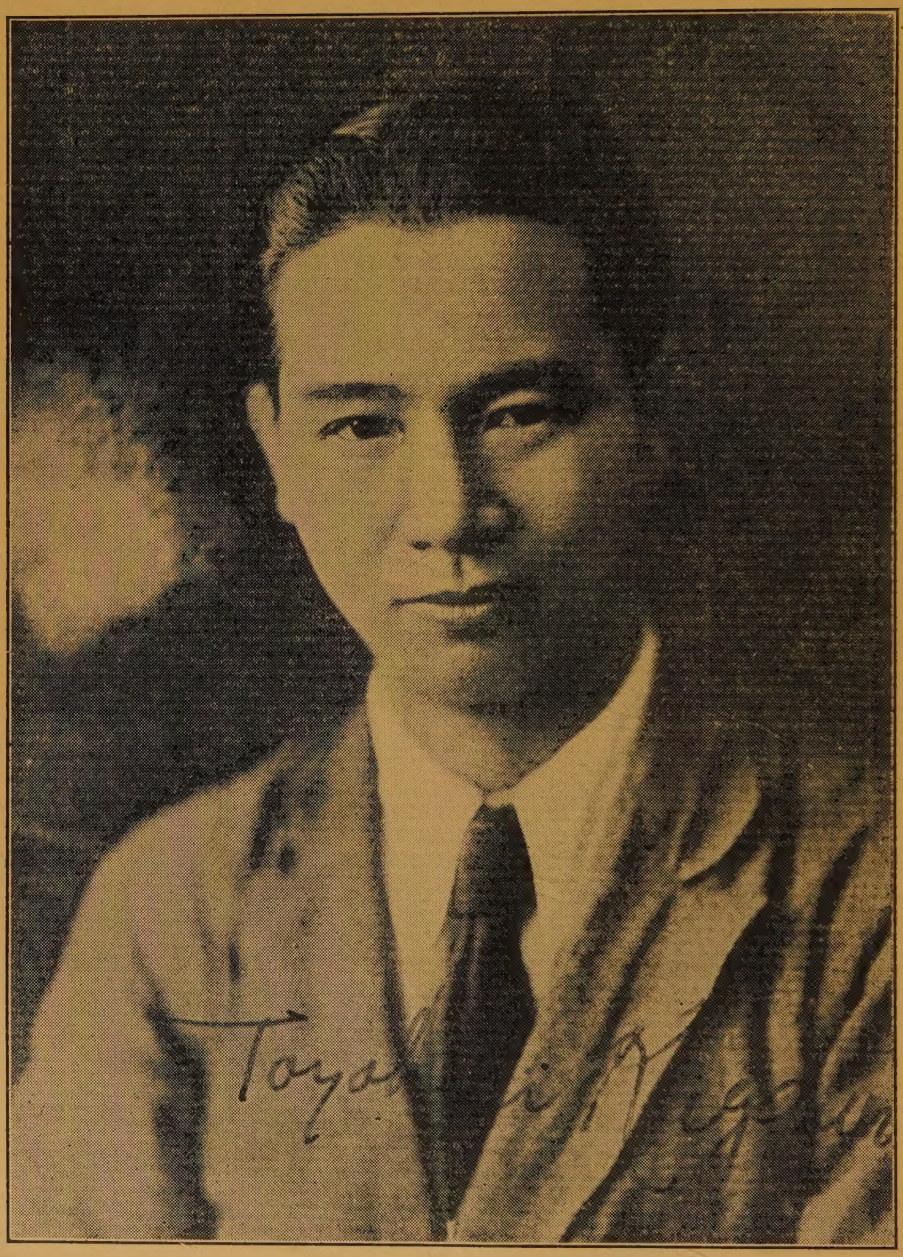
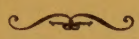


TOYOHIKO KAGAWA
Apostle of World Unity

DISARMAMENT TO THE FORE



EDITORIAL

WHILE the international bankers and the expert economists are seeking a solution of Germany's financial problems, public interest is concentrating increasingly on the forthcoming Disarmament Conference. It is no exaggeration to say that the fate of this Conference depends very largely upon the public sentiment that can be aroused and crystallized during the next four months before the Conference convenes.

In an address before the International Chamber of Commerce this summer, President Hoover declared that "of all proposals for the economic rehabilitation of the world," he knew of "none which compares in necessity and importance" with the limitation of armaments. And in announcing his proposal for a moratorium he said that "inasmuch as the burden of competitive armaments has contributed to bring about the depression, we trust that by this evidence of our desire to assist we shall have contributed to the goodwill which is so necessary to the solution of this major question."

All attempts made hitherto to bring about even a beginning in the reduction of armament have met with failure. If the World Conference which is to meet in Geneva, February 2, 1932, should again fail, unless all expert opinion is mistaken, the return of prosperity, the future of the League of Nations and the fate of World Peace will be left trembling in the balance. It is inconceivable that the nations can afford to take such dangerous risks. Thirteen years after the end of the Great War, twelve years after

the founding of the League of Nations, six years after the treaties of Locarno, and three years after the Briand-Kellogg Pact for the renunciation of war as a national policy the appropriations for military equipment for the next war are still increasing.

According to the Year Book of the League, sixty nations spent this last year on offensive and defensive armaments, $4,158,000,000.00. It may surprise Americans to learn that the United States leads the list with an expenditure of $707,425,000.00. Russia comes second with $578,943,000.00; France is third with $466,960,000.00 and Great Britain is fourth with $465,255,000.00. Italy is fifth with $248,946,000.00 and Japan is sixth with $236,861,000.00. It is obvious that if disarmament ever comes it will be because of the changed attitude and policies of these six nations.

In the last analysis the burden of responsibility rests upon the rank and file of the people in all leading countries. As Arthur Henderson, British Foreign Minister, expressed it in a recent speech: "My only fear is that nations will not show their governments *in time* that they can count upon their support for all reductions however drastic, to which the Conference may agree." Throughout the civilized world petitions for disarmament are now being circulated to be presented to the Conference at Geneva. All organizations working for world peace are united in cooperative effort to secure millions of signatures to these petitions.

Fear of another failure lurks in countless hearts, but this time *we must not* fail; and we, the people, *can* exert the deciding influence, *if we will.* If every minister of whatever faith, every teacher of whatever school or college, every public leader wherever he may stand, should give himself to the task during the next four months of arousing an intelligent and insistent public opinion in his own community demanding of the respective governments definite action in disarmament, then we would not fail. As Salvador de Madariaga says in "Disarmament," "The problem of disarmament is really the problem of the organization of the World Community," to which the 20th Century has set its hand.

J. H. R.

THE CHALLENGE OF TODAY

by

MARY HULL

Author of "Progress by Telic Guidance"

EVIDENCE abounds that we stand on the threshold of a new age. Five hundred years ago even the intelligentsia were ignorant of the shape and nature and relation to the universe of their native earth, and society, accordingly, was much at the mercy of its elements. The American continent was unknown. Europe was separated from Asia by inaccessible mountains and estranging seas. The separate nations were practically self-supporting, and isolated by physical and psychological barriers, the peoples even of neighboring states had very little contact with one another.

Then came a series of breath-taking changes, wrought by explorations, discoveries, inventions, the discovery of the intellectual riches of the past, and the opening up of new fields of knowledge, extending materially our power and widening the horizen on all sides.

Today we know and have nearly mastered the earth; we analyze the elements of the universe; we even measure the weight of stars invisible to the eye and millions of light years away; and with the advent of wireless and the aeroplane we have come into a new kingdom, that of the air.

Also the developments of the past four hundred years have brought hitherto separated peoples into close relations and have contributed variously to the unification of the world. The most diverse motives, love of souls and love of lucre, thirst for power, zeal for knowledge, and zest for adventure have alike set into motion powerful currents of activity that meet in the one momentous trend toward unity. Geographical discoveries, the labors of mis-

sionaries, colonizations, stupendous improvements in transportation and communication, the development of international commerce, and even wars, have all combined to weave mankind into a single prodigious web of destiny.

The conjunction of these and other significant new factors indicates that we are on the eve of a grand climacteric in human evolution.

A particularly important factor is the rise of a new type of economic order.

During the past century and a half the application of science to machinery has produced a technological civilization based upon machine power. This is a portentous innovation. All of the brilliant civilizations of antiquity were based on slave labor, and medieval civilization rested on the labor of serfs. Even modern civilization is built on the exploitation of the masses. But the machine multiplies man power enormously; and in its ultimate development it can produce a sufficiency of material goods to satisfy the needs of the entire population and still afford due leisure for culture to all. And thus it creates a sound material foundation for democracy and the reign of justice.

Modern economic development has been the chief factor in bringing the peoples of the earth together. The logical outcome of this interlocking of the fortunes of mankind is the submergence of the specious differences of race and nationality in the fundamental unity of humanity by the general recognition of a greater loyalty to mankind that includes the lesser loyalty to the separate state. This involves the cessation of the barbarous slaughter of countless numbers of our youth and the marring and maiming physically and spiritually of as many more in the service of the God of Battles; the salvaging of the property destroyed and the human energy wasted in time of war; the release for peaceful enterprise of the vast sums of money spent and the human ingenuity exercised in preparation for war, relief from the pressure of anxiety and fear caused by war actual or impending, and the enjoyment of generally harmonious relations; the creativeness engendered by the fertilizing peaceful contacts of different cultures; and the increase of

freedom and the enhancement of life to the individual who is a citizen of the world with all of its resources at his command.

Finally, the power back of the industrial and the unifying movement, the vast increase of knowledge, when properly distributed and applied, affords the light necessary for the conscious direction of our evolution. By the adaptation of the material resources of nature to our needs and the modification of social tradition in accord with a clearly visioned goal, we shall be in a position henceforth to advance directly, instead of muddling along in the dark as heretofore.

This vision of the future is the silver lining of an encompassing cloud that daily seems to grow more threatening.

The threatening aspects are due to maladaptation.

In every age the prevailing economic order is fundamental. It is the framework to which the social organism in all of its divisions must accommodate itself and in which all human ideals and aspirations must function.

The development of the machine order has resulted in economic interdependence; its smooth functioning, therefore, demands harmonious international relationships. Further, the machine *régime,* unlike the agricultural and handicraft systems of the past, is dynamic in the highest degree, causing and depending on constant change and reconstruction. It is characterized by large scale production, by extreme specialization in the division of labor and by extreme complexity. Its success, therefore, depends in an unparalleled degree upon extensive cooperation and close coordination of effort, close calculation, and careful planning for the future.

Manifestly the political organization that would correspond with this economic system, correct its defects, and aid in the development of its highest potentialities is that of a world order, a federation of nations cooperating voluntarily for the common advantage, settling disputes without recourse to arms, developing national resources in such a way as to contribute most to the common welfare, coordinating industries, and planning collectively for the future on a world scale so as to enrich the corporate life and forestall economic loss and human suffering.

Hard-pressed by necessity, but recalcitrant at heart, the separate nations with one hand make feeble gestures in the direction of such unity, and with the other clasp to themselves more tightly the remaining shreds and patches of sovereignty; simultaneously international conferences increase and tariff walls mount higher; peace parleys and preparation for war keep pace; and Famine stalks the earth hand in hand with Plenty.

If we were not concerned about the outcome, these grotesque associations would seem comic; as it is, they are tragic.

The current narrow concept of nationalism harks back to the tribal type of organization which was man's first experience in political organization. Inevitably, politics, keyed to the past, complicates the present and endangers the future. But it is not only political theories and practices that are perniciously obsolete now. For no one institution is ever isolated, but all in any given period are inseparably intertwined in the common growth of a common culture. Traditional religion, philosophy, ethics, and indeed, all of our institutions and our complete stock of inherited ideas are rooted in ages remote from the present alike in time and in character; and in so far as they have stiffened into rigid forms that fail to expand in accordance with changing conditions, they are an obstacle, rather than an aid to progress.

Change is the invariable constant of the machine order. In no other age has society been called upon to adjust itself to an environment altering with such kaleidoscope speed.

Hitherto, particularly in the United States, we have been preoccupied with the necessity of adaptation to changing material factors. Now the force of circumstances presses home on us the urgency of the mental and emotional adjustment which these changes in living conditions and the recent influx of knowledge demand, and further delay is seen to be perilous. The great accession of power incident to modern material progress has not been accompanied by a corresponding increase in self-discipline, responsibility, and social wisdom; and man, the master of nature, is all too frequently the slave of his own passions; and the capricious, irrespons-

ible action that prevails in every phase of contemporary life is dangerous in proportion to the degree of power exercised.

Each successive step in the mastery of nature and in the consequent development of industry has brought the individual into closer contact with his fellows and has entangled him in a complicated web of social relations, and in proportion as the painful pressure exerted by physical forces has slackened, that of psychological forces has tightened. Freedom seems as far away as ever; the chains are of a different type, but man is still bound. What avails it then, pessimists cry, to control the forces of nature when chaos reigns in the soul of man and in his relations with his kind?

The answer is that obstacles to freedom are not an occasion for despair, but a challenge to the spirit of adventure. Pricks of maladjustment are spurs to progress. The pressure they exert releases and develops latent powers. The sinews of the intellect and the spirit, like those of the body, grow by effort, struggle.

The painful consciousness of chaos in the psychic realm that is evidenced by current literature clearly points to the immediate task in our line of advance. We have been forced to see that perfecting the tools of progress is not enough; we have now to perfect the wielders of these tools. The absorbing problem of the past four centuries has been that of securing a more favorable adaptation to our physical environment. We have gone far in the solution of this problem by achieving a vast increase of knowledge all leading to the manipulation of the comparatively gross forces of nature. The urgent problem facing the new age, if we are to hold and increase our gains, and restore the endangered equilibrium of society, is that of securing a more favorable adaptation to our social milieu. It is concerned with the more subtle forces of life, the realm of human motives and of social relations.

The whole vast superstructure of modern science has been built upon the foundation of faith in a dependable order of nature. This faith has been amply justified. But man, the manipulator of the external phases of nature, is not apart from nature; he is a part of nature, the very cream of nature, nature become self-conscious, and human society is the crowning creation of nature's long travail.

And since belief in a rationale of the universe otherwise has been vindicated, have we not a sound basis for faith in a rationale of human relations?

Analogy gives us a clue to the proper procedure in our approach to the next stage of our struggle to freedom. In primitive times, man was at the mercy of the material universe. But through the exercise of intellect and the invention of tools he found a way to loose the bonds of material necessity. Science, supported by faith in a rational order of nature, is fast achieving freedom in this field by observing the laws of matter and then providing conditions favorable for their operation to the benefit of humanity. By working *with* the laws of matter we have made matter the instrument, instead of the obstacle of freedom. Supported by faith in a rational order of life for the individual and the community, may we not achieve freedom in society likewise by working *with* and not counter to the laws of life?

The laws which govern the progress of the individual in infancy and the facts to which he must conform differ from those that pertain in maturity. Alike for the individual and for society, at progressive stages of growth, there are now situations that must be met appropriately. And at certain critical epochs there are conditions of peculiar urgency; and failure to adapt to these conditions is attended, not by a mere arrest of development, as in other instances, but by disruption of the organism.

We are living in such an epoch now, and the supreme condition to which our obsolescent institutions must adapt is that of world unity. Today the factors which lead to unification are still in full swing. Year by year transportation and communication are accelerated; facilities for mental exchange and reaction increase; and increasingly more powerful are the forces that weave the economic life of nations into one fabric and strain the traditional economic and political systems to the breaking point. By the persistent hammering of hard facts our resisting institutions must be carved into appropriate shape or shattered into fragments.

For better or for worse, the passing age has joined the ends of

the earth together: there can be no divorce, no parting save that of death and dissolution.

Along with wedding gifts of doubtful value it has bestowed the instruments of harmony. It remains for the present age to achieve the *will* to harmony and to develop an effective technique for the use of these instruments.

Opposition to unity rests in part on opinions systematically inculcated by militaristic governments and *laissez faire* economic régimes, and in part upon the possessive instinct, enlarged and extended by the tendencies of modern civilization, far beyond the bounds of biological necessity.

To reactionaries, unity means, not release from painful tensions and the enrichment of life that pertains to a harmonious society, but a restriction of freedom, a base surrender of their inheritance, the loss of their peculiar superiority and a lowering of their high standards. And the violence of their opposition betrays the presence of a complex, an ugly development of the possessive instinct engendered in a great degree by the vanity fostered by national traditions. Thus much so-called patriotic expression is a compound share of sincere conviction and veiled, and often unconscious greed, desire to profit by exploiting weaker peoples.

In meeting these attitudes, the friends of unity need to conduct educational campaigns to expose prejudices by discrediting the validity of the sanctions supporting them. Such campaigns mean crashing the first line of defense. Also providing and maintaining mechanisms for the peaceful settlement of differences are absolutely necessary. But these measures are not enough, for humanity is not ruled by reason when reason runs counter to habitual and instinctive reactions. These are shaped by education and custom. Here is the kernal of the whole matter.

Behavior can be modified only by experience. New ideals will not be realized until action tendencies have been shaped to them. We cannot expect the League of Nations, the World Court and Resolutions to Outlaw War to maintain peace so long as discord reigns in the hearts of men. The smouldering hate and fear of discontented and suspicious peoples, quickly fanned into a flame

at a crisis by adroit interests, readily bursts through the thin crust of political forms. All mechanisms and forms, though necessary to social functioning, are futile unless they are vitalized by the appropriate spirit.

To reach the vitalizing will, we must penetrate beneath the outer layer of intellect to the spring of conduct, desire. Desires derived from the possessive instinct, motivated by greed, hate, fear, and apathy are negative, anti-social, and inharmonious. Those springing from the creative, altruistic instinct, motivated by generosity, love, hope and aspiration are positive, social, and harmonious.

It is the compulsion of individual education and cultural traditions that stresses either the positive or the negative instincts and determines the characteristic reactions of peoples. The cumulative force of the continuous impacts of our social institutions is tremendous. Together they form a traditional behavior-pattern, a mould which shapes the plastic raw material of human instincts and emotions and determines their reactions in specific habit systems.

We need to work out a traditional and instinctive mode of life based on motor instincts that is flexible, accommodating itself as a matter of course to rapidly changing conditions, and that is consonant alike with reason and the satisfaction of the fundamental needs of the individual. Since desire can be countered surely only by desire, such a system would concentrate upon the development of the altruistic instinct at the expense of the possessive. By social approval and disapproval we can encourage the one and discourage the other. And since desire is engendered and nourished by imagination, by capturing the imagination early and directing it to esthetic satisfactions which do not depend on the possession of things and which can be enjoyed by all alike, by making use of cooperation instead of competition, and by replacing selfish greed with the joy of fellowship it is possible to extract the sting from the possessive instinct. Further, by making duty and inclination coincide insofar as it is possible, we can greatly reduce inner and outer restraints, lesson the dangers of inhibition and suppression and constraint, and develop a social life that is spontaneously harmonious.

The unity and the more rational life that is our destined goal can be achieved only by the saturation of our social institutions, and especially our educational system, with the spirit of unity and sweet seasonableness. The conscious direction of social evolution begins with the child in the home and in the school. Let appeal be made constantly to the creative, altruistic instinct. Give the child opportunity for esthetic enjoyment and scope for creative effort, for the development of his peculiar aptitudes. For unity in the social organism as in the biological organism is based on the coordination of diversities. The more unique the talents of the individual members of the group, the richer the group. And so, individual uniqueness is to be cherished, not that it may preen itself on its superiority in some particular, but because of its capacity to add something new to the common stock. Let the child be accustomed to think of himself as a cooperating member of a group and be given opportunities for cooperation suitable to his capacity. Let him be encouraged to be inventive, resourceful. And instead of planting ready-made ideas and opinions in his mind, let him discover what he can for himself; and train him to base his judgments, not on authority, but on conformity to fact. In every country let the study of history be revolutionized with a view to securing an international perspective instead of fostering national vanity and prejudice. Further, making such use as we can of the thousand and one agencies for adult education that modern civilization affords, let us inaugurate a worldwide campaign to break down pernicious prejudices and build up the international mind.

When the members of society have formed the habit of reacting as rational and responsible members of a group with a steadily widening scope instead of as capricious individuals and citizens of a capricious state, when the need of social esteem is conferred for community service rather than for financial success and great possessions, when a substantial proportion of the people of the various countries acquire the habit of thinking of public issues in international terms, the acute problems that spring from a parochial outlook, narrow nationalism, race prejudice, and blind greed will dissolve and vanish away. And then, and then only, shall we have

a sound foundation for building in our political organization the "Parliament of Man, the Federation of the World."

Is not this end worthy of the effort involved in its achievement? Have we not here a universal goal that affords a powerful incentive for highest endeavor and that is worthy of our supreme devotion?

The Promised Land is in sight. Before us is the arduous task of taking possession of it. The New Age bristles with dangers and difficulties. Failure to triumph over them is fraught with the loss of the gains of the past four centuries. Standing in the critical transition interval between the old and the new epoch, wielding powers such as no generation of the past ever possessed, the hazards in the game of life are tremendous. The situation is one that calls for heroic effort to make good our possibilities and save our successors from the impending debâcle; it creates a challenge to which socially sensitive and courageous souls must needs respond the world over. For on our success in maintaining peace, in achieving a basis of unity, and laying a sound foundation for the organization of our gains for the benefit of society as a whole, hangs the destiny of succeeding generations for centuries to come.

The eleventh contribution to a symposium on "The Coming World Order," edited by Archie M. Palmer.

ORIENT AND OCCIDENT

by

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I. BASES OF CONFLICT AND UNDERSTANDING

The Unity of the Orient

THE Orient, like the Occident, is neither a racial nor a political unit. Two great cultural spheres may be discerned in the Orient: the anterior and middle orient, where Mohammedanism prevails, and the Far East, which came in contact with the Occident much later. Here the religions of the Indo-Chinese cultural areas form the basis of conduct and, from Ceylon to Japan, find a common exponent in Buddhism. A century and a half ago the Mohammedan Orient included the Near East also, the Balkan countries. Here, at the beginning of the Nineteenth Century, through the rise of the Serbs and later through struggles of the Greeks for national independence (carried on with the fullest sympathy of the Occident), the breaking away from the Orient and the cultural and political assimilation into the Occident were already taking place. While the roots of civilizations in the Far East and their attitudes towards life are entirely foreign to the West, Mohammedanism springs from the same ground as the whole body of Mediterranean culture, in which the roots of occidental civilization also lie. The sources of Mohammedanism are to be found not only in the mother-soil of Jewish-Christian religious concepts: its development took place under the influence of Hellenism, which Mohammedan scholars interpreted to the medieval West and carried to one of its most brilliant culminations in Spain. Just as the contacts between Islam and the Occident were numerous,

so were they relatively few between Islam and the civilizations of the Far East, which are also only during the last decades coming into contact with the Occident. The two great spheres of the Orient intersect in India, which has likewise been affected by Hellenism on its northwest frontier, and in which a third of the Mohammedan population of the earth lives. India was the first country in which European colonial government appeared in its modern capitalistic form. In India, moreover, the education of the native population was first organized after European methods and in the English language (according to a dictum of Macaulay's in the year 1835), and the westernizing process thus inaugurated among the intelligentsia has operated on the same pattern in other countries of the Orient.

Within the great cultural spheres of the Orient a motley diversity of races, languages and political forms prevails. In the conflict between Orient and Occident the question is not a conflict of races. There is neither a unity of race nor even a political unity within the two groups of mankind. The politics of the Orient during the second half of the Nineteenth Century were controlled by the contrast between England and Russia. In 1878, during the course of this long continued conflict, oriental troops were brought for the first time to take part in a theater of combat between European powers. It is true, of course, that the Indian troops came only to Malta at that time. The consciousness of a common political destiny for oriental peoples was then hardly existent in the Orient, even in isolated tendencies. Even today Japan is sometimes in the struggle against China on the side of the occidental powers. But it was the victory of Japan over Russia in 1905, made possible through England's opposition to the czarist empire, which was of paramount importance to all countries of the Orient. It demonstrated the possibility of the triumph of an oriental people, by means of western technique and army organization, over a great European military power. It awakened new hopes, bestowed a new self-consciousness and turned the eyes of Asia and Africa towards the island kingdom of the Far East which had attained an equal footing with the peoples of the West and soon matched

them in its own colonial policy. In spite of this political shift, which brought them into the ranks of the Western powers, the Japanese remained Orientals in the population policy of the Pacific Ocean.

New Alignments in the Twentieth Century

It was not until the present century, and especially after the World War, that the consciousness of a common political destiny on the part of the Orient were clearly delineated. A series of movements, bringing about profound structural changes in the political, social and cultural fabric, has passed over all countries of the Orient in the last thirty years. All these movements, in their origin or in their development, have been influenced wholly or in part by contact with the West and by the further and further penetration of Europe into the Orient, politically, economically and culturally. The transformation of the Orient found its first great visible expression in the revolutionary movements of the years 1907 to 1911, which deeply affected all existing forms of government in almost all countries of the East—in Turkey, Persia, Egypt, India and China. They were a struggle of the people for freedom, carried on against foreign oppressors or against native despots who, by their corruption and incompetence, threatened to deliver their subjects to foreign control. In these revolutionary uprisings and struggles for independence the newly awakened sense of nationalism among oriental peoples strove to realize itself in a national consciousness. This consciousness, formerly restricted to the narrow circle of the intelligentsia, widened and deepened during the years of the World War and immediately after, and began to penetrate the great masses. The World War, a struggle of two European power alliances for leadership in Europe and for the opening up of Asia and Africa (the Near and the Middle East lay in the foreground), owes its worldwide political importance to the fact that oriental peoples and states took an active part in this European conflict. The War shaped the culmination of the movement for the creation of national states in middle and eastern Europe. Its solutions of the problem of freedom for oppressed peoples did not fail to take effect in the

Orient also. But the struggle for the full sovereignty of oriental peoples on political and economic grounds implied a struggle against the European and North-American colonial powers which had brought the countries of Asia and Africa under their political control in one way or another or had hindered them in their autonomous development, by economic, financial and judicial privileges, capitulations and concessions. This opposition to a further advance of occidental power, noticeable in all countries of the Orient, and the growing attempt almost everywhere to regain the political and economic positions lost two centuries ago, awakened the West to the fact that a question already considered settled thirty years ago was presenting itself anew, in a different form, and that it was necessary to maintain a solid front in the face of this new danger. (The West, after the termination of the World War, had equipped itself for a new offensive in the East, and frequently found itself on an enforced defensive.) Thus in recent years Orient and Occident began to face each other on the common plane of a political conflict and struggle for understanding in which the preponderance of power, in technique, organization and training —a preponderance more striking than ever in political and cultural conflicts of the present—is certainly on the side of the West today, and probably will be for a long time to come. But the moral opposition of the Occident is weakening before the claims of the Orient—claims which the Orient is setting up at once as a pupil of the West, and in the appropriation of western political and social ideas. The Orient obtained its weapons against the Occident not only from the latter's technical arsenal but from its spiritual arsenal as well. The two worlds, so foreign to each other, are beginning to approach each other on a field fertilized with the ideas which have ripened in Europe in the last two or three centuries.

The Adjustment between Historical Epochs

The unity of the Orient as opposed to the Occident rests not only upon a political attitude which the Orient has adopted for itself only in recent years, but also upon the fact that the Orient is in an historical stage analogous to that of medieval Europe. The

Occident, and especially that portion of it affected by the Reformation, has entered a new historical epoch within the last three centuries, and this historical change was the first to bring with it the ascendency of the Occident over the Orient. This new era was marked by the abandonment of religion as the determining factor in all social and private life and the substitution for it of nationalism as the driving and shaping force of governmental and political activity; by the creation of central unified governments with an objectified administrative and military organization; by the awakening of the spirit of critical deliberation and experimental accuracy, and with these the possibility of scientific inventions and technical devices and their installation and adaptation to the needs of society; by the transformation of agricultural economic formulas into the freer formulas of capitalism; and finally, from the human point of view, by the awakening of a consciously fostered individuality of individuals and of groups, and their subordination under generally objective laws instead of personal arbitrariness and haphazard dispensation. This historical epoch began in western Europe, extended its field of operation farther and farther to the east and south, and in our century has reached the Orient. By a long and tedious process it has replaced the preceding epoch. Until thirty years ago the Orient was entirely in the medieval religious stage of civilization. Today it is in a transition stage. The simultaneousness, or contemporaneous existence, of different historical stages is more characteristic of it in the present than of any other part of the earth. With the introduction of western mechanization and the slowly but surely operating permeation of oriental thought by exact standards of law and science, the picturesqueness of the East is beginning to disappear. The oriental picture is taking on the features of that of Europe and America. Owing to the unexpected development of means of communication, the cinema and the constantly increasing circulation of the press in the Orient, the barriers which have separated countries and cultural stages are beginning to crumble. Mankind is slowly merging into a unit. But at the same time, it is this very assimilation of historical stages, and with them their political and social ideals and endeavors, which sharpens the con-

flict between Orient and Occident. The process of the transformation of the Orient from the religious-medieval stage of civilization to the social group-organizations and ways of thinking of the Occident of the Nineteenth and Twentieth Centuries advances with every year. In this process the West is the teacher, albeit often only involuntarily, just as the French Revolution was earlier, knowingly and voluntarily, the teacher in the Levant, and somewhat later and in considerably greater measure, English Liberalism and North-American Christianity the teacher in the entire Orient—in India and the Far East first of all. In the Twentieth Century the Russian Revolution assumed this western rôle and played it for the first time in 1905 by influencing the uprising against the autocracy in Turkey and Persia. The Union of Socialist Soviet Republics is extending over wide areas of the Orient, taking in a number of oriental peoples which the Russian Revolution freed or generally aroused for the first time to historical activity and national consciousness. The opposition to the capitalism of the western powers has brought the Soviet Union to the front politically in the struggle of the Orient against the imperialism of the Occident. In spite of the attempted westernization after the time of Peter the Great, Russia, the home of the East Slavic-Turanian mixture of peoples and cultures, remained until the Russian Revolution closely allied in many of its vital elements to the oriental historical stage. The revolution accelerated in Russia the approach to modern occidental civilization, directly to the time when a similar process was setting in throughout the entire Orient. Thus Russia advanced, even in contemporary history, on the side of the Orient. For the first time in world history, as we know it, a generally accepted basic conception of the problems of human social and spiritual life is beginning to expand—a conception which embraces East and West and from which no obscure countries or peoples are any longer excepted. The organization of mankind in vertical sections of rigidly secluded peoples and cultures gradually loses significance in the presence of the horizontal organization in ranks, classes and mental attitudes, which is found in all peoples. The globe seventy years ago only half known today has become geographically and culturally known

and easily observable over its whole surface. It is growing on the intellectual and moral field into a unity, based upon similar political, social and economic forms of the common life, which will provide a common level on which the future understanding between Orient and Occident, and the interchange of their ideas and goods, will be effected. The dissimilarities and individualities of the two groups and within these groups will not disappear. They continue to exist even within these groups. The abundance of individual peculiarities will not be suppressed. The differences in development and historical tendencies are vast and decisive, even in neighboring peoples of similar cultural endowment, like the Turks, the Arabs and the Egyptians; but throughout all these contrasts the unitary lines which define the transmutation of the entire Orient and bring it closer to the Occident are nevertheless recognizable.

THE LEAGUE OF NATIONS AND THE UNITED STATES

by

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II

IN compliance with Article 5 of the Covenant the President called the first meeting of the Council of the League of Nations. He said it was unnecessary for him to point out the deep significance attached to this meeting or the importance it must assume in the eyes of the world; and it would mark a new era in international cooperation and the first step toward the ideal concert of nations.

What was to be the Government's attitude toward this newly devised machinery for world cooperation to prevent war, which it had repudiated? Fear of being drawn into the League led the State Department to ignore letters from the Secretariat. The United States Ambassador in London was instructed to inform the London authorities that as the United States had not joined the League, they were not in a position to answer letters from it. Bassett states that in time they had to devise a method of communication, so they sent unsigned notes in the third person through the United States Legation in Berne, indicating that the League of Nations was only an institution set up within the jurisdiction of Switzerland. Wilson's prophetic words at St. Louis in September of 1919, are interesting in the light of the developments of the last ten years. He said—"No nation even so great a nation as the United States can stand alone and play a single part in the history of mankind today. Our isolation is at an end; not because we chose to go into the politics of the world, but because by sheer genius of this people

and the growth of our power, we have become a determining factor in the history of mankind. If we are out of it, we ourselves are going to watch every other nation with suspicion. Every movement of trade, every relationship of manufacturing, every question of raw material, every matter that affects the intercourse of the world will be impeded by the consciousness that America wants to hold off and get something which she is not willing to share with the rest of mankind. It is going to be very difficult for the other nations that were engaged in the war to get financially on their feet again. Mr. Hoover stated that it will be necessary for us immediately to advance four or five billion dollars for the rehabilitation of credit and industry. If the world is going bankrupt; if credit is being destroyed; if the industry of the rest of the world is going to be interrupted, our market is confined to the United States. Trade will be possible within our own borders only. We therefore put money in the hands of those who want to get markets that belong to us. We must contribute the money which other nations are to use in order to rehabilitate their industry and credit and we must make them our antagonists and rivals and not our partners. Is that a useful way for the United States to stand alone?" Dr. W. Martin claims that if the "United States had ratified the Treaty, the first concern of the League would have been disarmament and the political questions which occasioned the creation of the League. It was caused some anxiety about its future with us out and so the people chiefly concerned with the technical questions, took the upper hand."

Gradually we changed our tactics. By 1922 we were sending over unofficial observers. Miss Abbott was appointed to cooperate in an unofficial and consultative capacity with the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Women and Children, "under reservation of any binding effect upon the United States of any recommendation which may be made by the Committee." Dr. Dorsett was appointed on the Anthrax Committee, and Dr. Blue to attend the Advisory Committee on Traffic in Opium. This established a precedent and similar appointments followed the ensuing years.

Let us consider our active participation on various League

committees. As early as 1923 the Committee on Traffic in Women and Children stated that "reports submitted to us both from governments and from our own investigation, show that during the last few years greater attention has been given in many countries to the problem connected directly or indirectly with the traffic in women." This welcome development may be attributed to several causes: the responsibility assumed by the League under the Covenant, has widened the scope of international action considerably, by securing the adherence to the Convention of many more countries, especially those outside of Europe. The discussions of the Committee and the making of the Annual Reports by the governments, have had a marked effect in informing public opinion and in stimulating active measures against the traffic. At the 7th session of the Committee, Mr. Bascom Johnson was invited to sit on the Committee in order to give it the benefit of his experience. The question arose as to the difficulty of procuring the ratification of these Conventions and he stated it as his personal opinion that this arose from the fact that "the Constitution of the United States limited the power of the Federal Government. The questions involved in these International Conventions and Agreements were mostly within the exclusive competence of the various State Governments. Also among the states and territories some 52 different codes of law were represented." Dr. W. Snow, the Director of the American Social Hygiene Association, is urging that a study should be made in a selected list of countries of the extent to which the methods by which biological education is now being used to interpret to youth the influence of racial functions on human conduct. Mr. Carris who is pushing the work in the prevention of blindness, is interested in the creation of an international organization to deal with the subject, and expressed the hope that there would be close cooperation between the new organization and the Child Welfare Committee. According to our Congressional Record of June 1929, 35 different American medical experts have been working personally with the League's Committee of Health and the Committee for the Protection and Welfare of Children and Young People.

We have also shown our interest in the opium question by permitting several Americans to serve unofficially on the Committee on Opium Traffic, formed to meet that provision of the Treaty which assigned the League the duty of executing the Hague Convention of 1912, which limits the sale of opium to such quantities as are needed for scientific and medical purposes. In fact the League's efforts to bring the production and sale of harmful drugs under control, served as a medium through which the United States' aloofness first changed into full official representation. Our delegate in 1924, the Rev. Charles Brent, formulated our position in terms of this Hague Convention in existence 12 years, and thus far producing relatively little fruit. He emphasized the fact that no single nation can combat the peril and ruin with which habit forming drugs threaten not one, but all nations. The crux of the restriction of the production and manufacture of these drugs is money. Eliminate the economic difficulty and the rest would be easy. The proposals presented by Mr. S. Porter, the Chairman of the American Delegation, were the "recognition of the fact that the use of opium products for other than scientific and medical purposes, is an abuse and not legitimate; and that to prevent this abuse, it is necessary to control the production of raw opium in such a manner that there will be no surplus available for non-scientific and non-medical purposes." All opium producing countries must therefore come to a joint scheme of limitation with the consuming countries. The American Delegation played a spectacular part. When these proposals were to be discussed, the Porter Delegation walked out of the room, claiming their withdrawal to be an act of delicacy. At the 2nd Conference no agreement could be reached among the eight opium using nations. Mr. Porter then proposed an annual 10% reduction in prepared opium. The impasse was reached when he read instructions from his Government directing him to sign no agreement which did not encompass the "suppression of the habit-forming narcotic drug traffic." The United States Delegation suddenly withdrew. Our attitude throughout these months brought this comment from Mr. Loudon, the Head of the Dutch Delegation, "An international conference presupposes

the possibility of reciprocal concessions and of true and real exchanges of opinion and of goodwill on both sides, and such a conference is doomed to failure if one of the parties has imperative instructions to impose its will upon the others under pain of leaving the conference."

On the matter of traffic in arms and munitions, ratification of the Arms Traffic Convention was very slow. After eight months no reply had been received from the United States. Finally in 1922 the Government stated through the British Chargé that "it sympathized with the efforts to restrict but did not approve of the terms of the Convention, since it would not permit this country to sell to nine of the Latin American countries, however desirable it might be to permit such shipments; also it was intertwined with the League and so it would be impracticable for this Government to ratify." In 1923 a request was sent to Mr. Hughes to state more fully the objections to the 1919 Convention. After five months delay, the same statement was repeated as well as the fact that the Department was not in a position to undertake the necessary legislation to put the Convention into force. In 1925 a United States delegate was sent to the Geneva Conference on Disarmament with full power to negotiate and sign a treaty with the other powers represented to regulate international traffic in arms, munitions and implements of war. Mr. T. E. Burton, the Head of the American Delegation, asked the Conference to prepare a separate Convention to control poisonous gases. When all signatory powers were to report to the League the statistics of their armaments, Mr. Burton objected on the ground that to require the United States to report anything to the League, would lead the Senate to refuse to ratify the Conventions. These Conventions are still there, somewhat covered with the "dust of hostility" says Bassett. England waits upon the United States. So long as one great nation does not restrict traffic in arms, the others will not either.

Closely allied with this work on arms traffic, is the subject of general disarmament. The Washington Disarmament Conference initiated and carried through in 1921-1922 by the United States, was "our first step in an endeavor to bring about limitation in

naval armaments and perhaps to establish some organization which would be an adequate substitute for the League." Mr. Bywater commented at the time that the trend of argument at the Conference was at all times "a naive admission that national interests should in the future as in the past, be the sole guide to naval policy." True, but the outstanding facts are that America made her first appearance in an international cooperative conference of such a character; and that through the Four Power Pact of the Pacific, according to Buell, she virtually imposed upon herself the obligation to take "the most efficient measures" against an aggressor. In making that statement however we must quote the Senate's reservation "that there is no commitment to armed force, no alliance, no obligation to join any defense;" this leaves the door sufficiently wide open for us to escape if we deem it our interest to do so. The League under the provisions of Articles 8 and 9 of the Covenant relating to disarmament, continued to take halting steps, the members realizing more and more as they advanced, how closely allied to the subject were the questions of arbitration and security. Then came Lord Cecil's concrete proposal to guarantee security as crystallized in the Draft Treaty of Mutual Assistance. France and her Allies alone supported it. The next significant step in this direction was the Geneva Protocol. Mr. Rappard defines it as being "an attempt to promote disarmament by creating security, to create security by outlawing war, to enforce the outlawry of war by uniting the world against the aggressor, and to base this union of mutual protection upon the fundamental principle of universal arbitration." Unfortunately upon the refusal of the Baldwin Government to accept its obligations, it was laid aside. "These are however distinguished instances of adventure in the realm of the seemingly impossible," as Bishop Brent expressed it, "ventures of the heart quite as much as of the head. The ethical must determine and inspire the practical." After the failure of the Protocol, England suggested that special treaties should be made to meet special needs. The Locarno Treaties resulted. All these steps go to show the League's manifold activities toward arbitration, security, and disarmament. That the United States had come to realize the im-

portance of these activities is evidenced by the presence of the American Delegation at the Third Session of the Preparatory Commission early in 1927. At the same time the United States was preparing for the Tripartite Naval Conference to be held the same year. This undoubtedly hindered discussion and agreement for the naval powers did not wish to bind themselves now by any agreement that might prove troublesome in the future. The League was proceeding on the theory that armaments were interdependent whereas we, a great naval power, renewed our attack on the isolated problem of naval armament. The United States came to the Conference with a program based on parity, economy and security. At the opening session Mr. Gibson laid down the principle "that our respective navies should be maintained at the lowest level compatible with natural security and should never be of a size or character, to warrant the suspicion of aggressive intent." The principle of parity however, is directly opposed to this principle of limitation based on national needs. Inconsistencies of this type as well as the presence of a great number of naval officers whose emphasis on national prestige and national security, was in terms of war and not of peace, wrecked the Conference. Mr. Baker contends that any final disarmament treaty must be general; that is, it must include all countries in its obligations and it must take all weapons into account. The League's Preparatory Commission has consistently recognized these facts. "Such a treaty to be effective," said Mr. Baker, "must be accompanied by an organization, entrusted with the responsibility of seeing that each country fulfills its treaty obligations." The American representative at Geneva as well as representatives of other powers, have clearly put on record their objections to "itinerant inquisitorial commissions of investigation." Let us glance for a moment at the development of our relation to the World Court, since Mr. Kellogg insists that the "Government of the United States has never been a laggard in any effective movement for the advance of world peace." It is true we began to show a more lively interest in projects for the pacific settlement of international disputes. Mr. Hughes in 1922 made a declaration in favor of a world tribunal standing on an independent

basis, even though nearly all the nations of the world were operating under the League Court. Harding's message to the Senate in 1923 urging cooperation at the Hague, was received in ominous silence. Our gradually increasing cooperation with the technical phases of the League's activities made the step to juristic cooperation not so difficult to take. This was especially true since arbitration of international controversies had long been a prominent feature of American theory. It was therefore no radical departure to join this court and in 1926 the Senate assented, with however abundant reservations and conditions to be accepted by the members. Since the members refused our 5th reservation relating to advisory opinions, a Conference was called to discuss it with us. Mr. Kellogg saw no reason to send representatives; the reservations were "plain and unequivocal." Mr. Root later devised the Root Formula to bridge the difficulty. Will the Senate accept this? In 1928 we have the Paris Pact renouncing war as an instrument of national policy. "Modern civilization," says Dr. Shotwell, "has reached a turning point in which this ancient instrument is no longer valid, even for what was formerly its legitimate ends." There is also a steadily growing tendency to attack the whole subject of peace from a more positive stand. As Dr. Miller stated, "the sanctions provided for in the Covenant should not be thought of in regard to their application, but in regard to their non-application." There is today a shift of interest. "Armies and navies are obviously military; air forces and chemical industries are not, therefore the path to peace is less likely to be found through limiting the instruments of war than by the slow and steady building of that will to peace which lies behind all instruments and bends them to its purpose." Dr. Butler claims also that "another center of gravity has moved from questions of pure politics to questions of pure economics. Hereafter whether in the sphere of liberty or in the sphere of government, we are to concern ourselves more than ever before with the problems arising out of the distribution of raw materials and their interchange."

THE NOVEL OF THE WAR YEARS

by

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FOREWORD

IN the *Conversations of Goethe with Eckerman,* under date of January 31, 1827, Goethe declares that national literature has become an unmeaning term, that the epoch of world literature is at hand, and that every one must strive to hasten its approach. Under date of March 14, 1830, explaining himself against the reproach that during his country's struggle with France he had written no German war songs, Goethe says that he has never uttered anything which he has not experienced and which has not urged him to production. He asks: "How could I write songs of hatred without hating! And, between ourselves, I did not hate the French, although I thanked God that we were free from them. How could I, to whom culture and barbarism are alone of importance, hate a nation which is among the most cultivated of the earth, and to which I owe so great a part of my own cultivation?"

The greatest literature is, as Goethe declared one hundred years ago, universal in its appeal, and it has been my purpose in this fiction study to prove the oneness of thought of the literary artists of the three greatest combatant nations in the World War—Great Britain, France, and Germany. (The literary contribution of the United States will be treated in a separate section.) The greatest mind, the artist in the profoundest sense of that term, has never known any mere national boundary in his work, either in the time of the Greek tragedians and comedians, or in the time of Shakespeare, or of Goethe, or of Shaw and Galsworthy, Anatole France and Romaine Rolland, Gerhardt Hauptmann and Thomas Mann—

the time of the World War. Art has no frontiers. Though literary criticism has not been my intent, I have in no case taken a work of mere propaganda. The writers chosen are those of established reputation in their own countries and in the world of letters, except in the case of young and unknown soldiers during the early years of the fighting, soldiers who made themselves acknowledged in the art world through their contribution to it.

For some time now there has been hot debate concerning the function of war literature, its purpose and accomplishment. Those on the negative side in this debate argue that even the greatest of war literature does not convince the reader of war's iniquity. One of the leaders of this group is the well-known internationalist, Senor Salvador De Madariaga, now Spanish ambassador to the United States. He maintains that the reading of war novels and war drama or the seeing of such plays and pictures as *Journey's End, All Quiet on the Western Front,* or the *Case of Sergeant Grischa* merely stimulate the thought of reader or auditor with the glamor and thrill of war, create the urge toward experiencing war in the mind of youth, satisfy the desire for escape from routine and monotony in the mind of maturity. Among the recent publications of adverse criticism of war literature is M. Jean Norton Cru's book, *Témoins,* a study of the writings of French combatants, such writings as have been published from 1915 to the present time. M. Cru accuses these writers of not telling the truth of the actual happenings of the conflict, but he uses for his measuring rod the idea of factual truth only. To the artist that idea is small indeed. And concerning the war, there is no single truth even from a factual standpoint. There is the truth of the aviator, of the artillery man, of the staff headquarters, of non-combatants, etc. There is also, for the artist, the truth of vicarious experience, of recombining and reinterpreting events in terms of emotion and point of view.

Another publication somewhat similar in its critical tone to M. Cru's book is by an Englishman, Cyril Falls, entitled *War Books.* He has selected many histories, as well as novels and diaries, and given brief summaries and comments upon them. For one who wishes to read selections from some of the best war literature in

general, *Armageddon,* an anthology published 1930, (Cape and Smith, New York) is admirable. My brief introduction will not admit in its limited scope even mention of numerous other arguments for and against war literature, made in recent years.

For me the truth of Goethe's prophesy of one hundred years ago concerning the passing of national literature and the approach of the epoch of world literature is absolutely proved by my intensive study of the best of the literature of the war and post-war years of both the Allied and Central Powers. Hatred of a mass of individuals or of a country seems impossible for truly artistic production. Chauvinism is ruled out of the game of politics and world statesmanship, as creative writers would have it played. All of them worthy of the name, of the older generation, or of the war generation of Mottram and Aldington and Tomlinson, Barbusse and Dorgelès and Duhamel, Remarque and Werfel and Arnold Zweig, are pro-humanitarian only. There is no glorification of war on any front. As Mr. Henry Seidel Canby somewhere writes in his excellent analytical article *Modern War,* "the 'glory' books and the funny books have a bad taste in the mouth now." The sentimental glorification of war and war heroes such as filled pages of European literature after the Napoleonic wars has been singularly lacking in this post-war period. Even in poetry, there is scarcely an example of truly great expression in "the glory field" save that of Rupert Brooke. He died in the early days of the fighting, the spring of 1915, while yet in that ecstasy of sacrifice for what idealism believed was the Great Cause, the cause of justice and democracy against that of injustice and bureaucracy.

Objection has been made to the serious study of the various phases of the literature of the World War on the ground that we are still too near it to make any sound judgment. A perspective that only time can give is demanded for any critical estimate of value. While such an objection is sound, there is a legitimate counterplea to it—that of the need to study conditions and problems of our own time, since it is now and here that we must make our own contribution towards the solving of the problems and the bettering of the conditions among which we live.

A recent survey by the joint committee of the American Association for Adult Education and the American Library Association gives the stimulating information that the social groups questioned are most greatly interested in social hygiene and international problems. Such a survey is indeed encouraging. It seems to point to the effectiveness of the writer who sees internationalism as the highest humanitarian cause and believes that the "new learning," scientific and otherwise, may be used in "justifying the ways of men to men." Great literature is produced by those men and women capable of seeing beyond the immediate to the general, of realizing not only the minuteness of the individual in the general scheme of existence, but also the greatness of his courage and the pathos of his combat with the universe. A great writer must possess understanding, compassion, faith. This faith may be creedless, it may be even without religion as conventionally recognized; but it must be a faith in spiritual values as opposed to the material ones, in order as opposed to chaos, in love as opposed to hate. Such an understanding, a compassion, or a faith is found in the best of the literature upon the war. And the finest of war fiction portrays it especially since the novelist has the gift of observation and of imagination from a creative standpoint to such a degree that to him vicarious experience is possible. He can sublimate his emotions and through them so illuminate the tragedies and ironies of our common mortal life that any reader with a modicum of power to think and to imagine may inform and refresh his mind and spirit from the novelist's work. It is in such universal terms that the World War has been treated by the best novelists who have made it their theme. And for this cause and it alone I have endeavored to present something of their emotion and philosophy concerning that event that has grown more stupendous with the years, that frightful cataclysm of 1914-1918.

The present work by Dr. Newman is the second in a series of three studies devoted to the subject of "The International Note in Contemporary Fiction." The first section, on the "Novel of the Pre-War Years," was published in World Unity in December, 1930 and January, 1931. The third section to follow the work now in serial publication, will deal with the "Novel of the Post-War Years."

APOSTLES OF WORLD UNITY

XXXI.—TOYOHIKO KAGAWA

by

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THE most famous novelist and poet in Japan, at the age of forty-one, has been persuaded by the mayor of Tokyo to become head of the Social Bureau because he knows more about the slums, and has better judgment concerning social distress than anyone else in Japan.

Neither writing nor social administration, however, is of more than incidental interest to this man, his great object is the teaching of a new way of life.

Asia, from time immemorial, has produced the prophets—Confucius, Buddha, Christ, Mohammed, and many lesser figures—now we reckon Gandhi of India as belonging to the list. They all have aimed at the same thing, teaching men to live for time and eternity.

Toyohiko Kagawa of Japan may also be recorded by the Ages. A prophet must have knowledge, wisdom and vision. Kagawa has all three and belongs peculiárly to our times. Gandhi sees the evil of the machine, and political organization, and repudiates them. Kagawa accepts them and would regenerate them.

Everyone is crying out about the evils that our machine age has brought us, and everywhere there is despair because there seems to be nothing to do but eat, drink, and be merry before we die. Capitalism, nationalism, and materialism are rampant, and efforts to stem their force seem futile.

In Japan the man, Kagawa, has arisen whose cheerfulness, in-

telligence, energy, and philosophy have already made him a world figure.

Gandhi spins and weaves in primitive fashion and wears almost no clothes. Kagawa establishes a cooperative society which makes a three piece suit, American style, which sells for a dollar and a quarter.

It was my good fortune to spend much of a day with Kagawa and hear him speak twice in public. I tried in every way to confound him, but his knowledge is prodigious. German philosophy, statistics, history, economic theory, modern psychology always came back in reply with a laugh. Always, however, there was one final answer, that the world must be saved through love.

This is an old theory, and on many lips it is sentimental, with Kagawa it is both practical and intelligent. He has learned it from an experience rare and complete, and his faith comes both from the outside, and from spiritual insight. He does not deny the world, he faces it.

He was born in 1888 of a well to do family and in a Japanese Buddhist school studied the Confucianist classics. He had great moral difficulties in his youth and was greatly influenced by the life of a missionary. While in college his health failed and he lived a year in a fishing village where he shared the extreme poverty. He returned to college in Kobe and went at once into the worst slum district where he stayed for four years trying to help the people. Then he went to Princeton to try to find a solution, but the philosophy which he finally arrived at came from "meditation."

On his return he went on the very first day to live in the slum and he continued to live there until his children made it necessary to have a more healthful place, but he intends to return when they are twelve years old. He was attracted to his wife because she respected the people among whom he was working and showed no trace of "superiority."

He contracted tracoma from his associates and is nearly blind. His philosophy starts with: "I love them, that is all." It is only through love as best exemplified by Jesus that the world can be re-

generated. Kagawa believes that such love is enough and he has unbounded faith in its practicability.

I have met few men, even professional scholars, whose breadth of knowledge is so wide, or who have greater exactness in facts; though he suffers from bad health, he has written forty-five books, and has several under way at the present time, in addition he has a multitude of enterprises going at full speed; makes thousands of speeches each year, drawing crowds wherever he appears. His interest is with the masses because they have the greatest need, but the intellectuals and the government are his friends, though he finds himself often arraigned against the government.

A pamphlet containing extracts from three novels, and his book on the "Psychology of the Poor" were reprinted for the House of Peers. It showed the actual suffering under which great numbers of people lived. As a result the Peers secured a government appropriation of twenty million yen (ten million dollars) for a slum reclamation program covering five years, in the six largest cities of Japan.

His first novel which brought him into instant fame was a description of the philosophy of his own life and ran through 180 editions. Although he might have joined the life of the literary set he stayed with his slum. He helped lead the shipyard strikers in Kobe, was arrested and sent to jail. A new book had been advertised to appear simultaneously at a certain hour all over Japan. People stood in queues waiting to buy it while its author lay in jail, but even in jail he wrote another.

His object in writing is both to spread his ideas and to raise money for his numerous activities. He lives in extreme poverty and gives away a great amount of money.

He is interested in the labor movement and has organized labor unions and labor parties. He himself refuses to be elected to parliament and has accepted the fact that labor is as ignorant and pigheaded as capital.

Labor in Japan has been greatly influenced by the materialist socialism of Marx as introduced by the Russian communists. Kagawa is sympathetic with most of their objectives, but feels that

materialism is equally futile whether socialistic or capitalistic and that a new spirit must come into the world.

Kagawa is a Christian evangelist, but not the kind we have known in America. He has the zeal and drawing power of Moody or Billy Sunday, but the intelligence of a university president. He talks the language of a Christian, but he has a background of Buddha and Confucius that is a spiritual and moral system which has given character to eastern Asia for thousands of years. On this he has grafted his interpretation of Christianity without the handicaps of medieval church history with its corruptions and entanglements. When I suggested that there was a great religious force in Japan in its reverence for the nation, and its Buddhist-Confucianist system he laughed and said that he was trying to substitute the Nazareth myth for the Imperial family myth.

Kagawa approaches problems in a Japanese way. When in trouble Japanese smile. Men smile when they tell you how many children they lost in the earthquake. I met a woman yesterday whose little girl in a clean dress had fallen in the mud. The mother laughed. When Kagawa talks about sin he makes the people laugh at it.

As he interprets Christianity its essence is love, and through that as a practical force he thinks that problems can be solved. It has to be exemplified through living and not through theology, and it will take time to learn. He tells the labor parties that they must have a generation of political education.

It was on the labor problem that I heard him speak. He said that it was not enough merely to preach goodwill and love, but that there must be some way to put it into practical use. It is not the duty of religion to destroy the existing order, but to enter into life as it is now, and to instill into it a stronger spirit of goodwill and love so that what is now may give birth to something far better in the future. He is not opposed to capitalism except that capitalists selfishly forget the interests of their workmen. He is not for making work easier in having less to do, but that there shall be an object above merely earning the daily bread.

This sounds almost like an apologist for things as they are, but Kagawa is much deeper than that. He thinks that there must first be a change in the attitude toward life.

In an interview with Professor Ross of Wisconsin last winter, in reply to the question "What is Japan up against?" he said the books of Karl Marx are eagerly read by millions and that communism is spreading like fire due to pitifully small wages, to child labor, to unemployment, and to being exploited by capitalists. Many have been put in jail, but the government cannot stop it that way. "The only way is kindness and love. I sympathize with the working people. They are oppressed, but revolution by force is not right. Force can never accomplish anything good. Not force but love. I am working to make Japan really Christian."

An evangelistic campaign in America is both a prosaic and sentimental thing on account of the level on which it is carried, but Kagawa in Japan as head of a movement to convert a million people to Christianity in three years is a living flame to light the world for social regeneration. The reason I, as well as others, consider him a prophet is because something will be added to Christianity which by his work will make it a different kind of religion.

In Europe and America in many respects Christianity has run out. It goes on by its momentum, but most people do not take it seriously. It has power because Christianity is almost a symbol of western civilization, and it may get its rejuvenation as well as it got its birth from Asia, though geographically from the extremes. The dynamic power of Kagawa is a new and potent factor.

There are two reasons for this, one is the thorough grounding of the Japanese in "Bushido" which is a combination of Buddhism and Confucian ethics, and the other is the peculiar social and political situation of Japan at the present time.

Japan is acutely conscious of the fact that it has problems to solve. A thoroughly modern country in its aims, it still has its feet in the past. Strongly nationalistic it has the necessity of international adjustment as few other countries have. It is in exactly the right mood for spiritual experiments. It will keep its own Soul but it is looking to the rest of the world for enrichment of that Soul.

When the Emperor Meiji who was responsible for the modernization of Japan began his work sixty-four years ago, he granted complete religious freedom, and welcomed all religions. The Imperial family still adheres to Shintoism, but the emperor gave fifty thousand dollars towards the new Y.M.C.A. building in Tokyo, and has for many years given a subsidy for the social work of the Salvation Army. This gives a standing to Christianity that is very surprising. There is vastly more news about Christian activities in the Japanese papers than could possibly get into an American paper, and yet there are barely more than two hundred thousand Christians in the country out of sixty million people.

The nationalism of Japan is a unique thing in the world. A hundred and twenty-five generations ago the present imperial family began to rule. Both emperor and people are thought to be of the same mythical origin and the result is that all Japan considers itself of one family. The moral ideal is that the family is the first responsibility and that its good name must always stand above personal interest. There are of course many black sheep as in smaller families, but that does not prevent the dominant ideal from being potent, and it has made a sort of unselfishness which is easily understood even where it is not practised.

This is the field in which Kagawa, with an old and universal principle, is laboring, trying to interpret a new order out of contemporary conditions.

Of course Kagawa is an internationalist through and through. He loves all nations, though he says there is a "Heaven-America and a Hell-America." Lincoln and Emerson he knows well and thinks they represent one aspect of America. The advocates of big navies and national materialism are on the other side, but he thinks they can all be won over.

This practical idealist and political agitator supports three social settlements, helps a leper colony, maintains a research bureau, heads a great cooperative organization, begins speaking in the morning at six and always speaks in the evening, besides his prodigious writing.

He is an advocate of the simple life, and yet at home lives with elegance. As we were eating lunch at the hotel, in reply to one of my questions, he asked what was the real use of all these things, indicating the quantities of silver by each plate, the finger bowls and other accessories. I could only admit their unimportance for the task of getting food.

After the earthquake, shortly after he had been released from jail the government called on him to assist in the relief work.

He has his Boswell—Miss Helen Topping, who is associated with him, and her father try to catch everything that he says, which he has not written. It was embarrassing in my first interview to see them both writing questions and answers, but they feel that they are in the presence of one of the great characters of the age, and certainly his most extemporaneous utterances are worth recording.

As a practical man Kagawa is amazing. He lives the strenuous life in a way that would have commanded the respect of Roosevelt, but that does not make him a prophet. If he did not do a single one of these things, which after all are nothing but what others do to a greater or less extent, his potential significance would not be less.

The world is well aware that it is facing staggering problems. We have many would-be prophets of pessimism who have many followers. We constantly hear that "you cannot change human nature," and yet all religions have had faith that human nature could be molded into finer form. The significant thing about Kagawa is that he believes just this, and he faces a world whose worst problems he understands in intimate detail, and he says that the problems can be solved and human nature can be regenerated. This is the essence of the prophet needed in our age, and he lives in Japan.

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WORLD ORGANIZATION—PARLIAMENTARY OR FEDERAL?

by

CARL A. ROSS

Attorney

PEOPLE today delude themselves that we have no sessions of a World Parliament or Legislature. One World Parliament sat at Versailles and attempted to pass world laws then needed. Another World Parliament met at Geneva in 1924, a bill was introduced but failed to secure the majority such as controls these intermittant sittings of our World Congresses. The result was, as many people argue, that the Sea Power of Great Britain defeated the Geneva Protocol.

Another World Law was signed at Geneva under date of December 16, 1920. At this session of our nascent World Parliament, the Judicial Department for our Super-government was drafted and received many signatures. Again in 1926 a number of the influential members of our World Legislature held a sort of District Meeting, a meeting of the European District, at Locarno and passed other measures for the safety of the world. There seems to be no prescribed way of initiating legislation in our embryonic World Government. In fact some very vital legislation or constitution making seems to have been inaugurated by certain prominent statesmen out of the blue. It is true these statesmen worked through or represented important members of the world's family of nations and our honored Mr. Kellogg merely represented a nation member not yet fully initiated into all the lodges and master degrees of this Super-Government, but with the aid of M.

Briand, they really legislated a fundamental principle of serious import into what we may hope will develop to be the Constitution of this world peace organization. And so it goes, we have World Legislation for reparations, amended by Dawes and later by Young, a World Bank established by other World Legislation and the Washington, Geneva and London Disarmament Conferences: no one seems to know where we are going, but we are on the way.

There are on foot plans for numerous other Sessions of our World Parliament, almost any nation is welcome but the small ones must not speak too loud as it might jar the agenda which is always carefully prepared by the nations with the greatest armies and navies and no legislation has any particular chance of passing even the second reading if any nation of first military rank opposes it. This seems to be an unwritten law, part of the comity of nations, or a so-called "international law," that all the strong nations faithfully adhere to. Do we realize the true character of the World Peace Organization we are building? Are such unwritten laws to be our only mode of limiting this *énfant terrible?*

Towards this World Government in pangs of birth we have one Department, the legislative, emitting this mass of world legislation—most of it admirable—but no Executive Department to put it into effect, except time and the benevolent spirit, shall we call it, of the leading military powers which have been interested in securing some of these enactments, in fact have lobbied for Locarno, have steam-rollered Reparations, the World Court, etc., past what is considered the 3rd reading and on to the graveyard of influence.

So much for the Legislative Department. To be sure we have a Judicial Department for this world government. It was born with a top hat on, leaning on an imaginary walking stick, but barefooted. It has learning, but leans on the Covenant of the League as an imaginary Constitution and has no Bailiff or Executive Department to run about and execute its decrees. Why has no one, through an advisory opinion or otherwise, ever tested any major enactment of our Peace Legislation? Is the Peace Pact "constitutional?" Is the "optional clause" constitutional? Has anyone asked our World Court who was "aggressor" in any of our numerous

wars? The World Court is composed of Chief Justice Marshalls, but there the similarity ends, since they have no Constitution adopted by the people to lean on and interpret and they have no Bailiff of Executive Department, backed by a President of the United States as Commander-in-Chief of the army and navy to enforce its decrees. Even Americans must remember that Chief Justice Marshall's just decree against the State of Georgia and in favor of the Cherokee Indians, a decree having the full support of our Constitution, lacked enforcement in Georgia where public opinion did not support it and where the President of the United States did not support it. Did not President Jackson say: "John Marshall has pronounced his judgment, now let him enforce it if he can!"

Many people have faith that this ten year old infant world government will in a few centuries develop lusty forearms and thighs, corded sinews and entrails capable of supporting a backbone of its own. In this good time a'coming, it will wield a big stick over its imperialistic members, so that our strongest military nation will no longer need either armies or navies! But can we wait even one century while practice and custom may endow these institutions with power, till our World Court becomes a House of Lords, a Privy Council or some analogous institution? Furthermore, in the face of the aggressive attitude of Sovietism and Fascism, are we likely to have these needed years granted us? Can capitalism, now actively challenged, successfully exhibit such a deplorable lack of organizing capacity?

If government includes three departments, the legislative, judicial and executive, we have touched on the legislative and judicial, but surely the executive is lacking. However, it may be the Legislative Department is to be all powerful, as it is, for instance, in England, where Parliament is supreme in all three departments; it has the sole legislative power even to amending the Constitution, its leader is the chief executive, the head of the Cabinet, and it is supreme in judicial matters since no court in the realm can declare any of its enactments unconstitutional and void. It took several centuries for England to develop her wonderful system and the

battle scars are historic, but even now is it a successful "Empire System" in view of its relations to its various members as disclosed in the recent Imperial Conference? The United States is not considered an "Empire," but let us compare the two, beginning as of 1789, when England had just lost the 13 colonies, she did retain Canada. We will say nothing of other English colonies, as Canada can serve for Australia, India and other dependencies of Great Britain. In 1789 did the United States have no dependencies? How about Ohio, Indiana, Illinois and other states filling in the territory east of the Mississippi River which had just been ceded to the Federal Government? Had the 13 Original States, comprising the United States of 1789, adopted and followed the parliamentary system of England, the states of Ohio, Indiana and Illinois would now be in the position of Canada. From the point of view of 1789 which nation, England or United States, is become an "Empire?" The United States is an "Empire" and does not know it, Great Britain is classed as an "Empire," but is not. So says 1789.

Following the cycle of the growth of the British Empire, our new World Government may likewise be accomplished in the next several centuries as Great Britain emerged in the eighteenth century from plain England struggling for five centuries since Magna Carta for her parliamentary form of government. What we should note is that England has now passed through a nearly complete cycle so that she is back again to her pre-empire days of, say, the fifteenth century. She has gained a large part of the earth's surface only to lose it. First she lost the 13 colonies, but now not only are Ireland, Canada, Australia and South Africa virtually independent, but India and other dependencies are struggling to become free and if the process continues for long she will virtually be back to the one Island: England, Scotland and Wales. On the other hand the United States has amalgamated and assimilated not only the territory west to the Mississippi River but on farther west to the Pacific Ocean.

We may well ask what are the causes of this wide divergence in results? How did it come about that England became an "Empire" only to lose her dependencies one after the other, while the

United States has not only held, but amalgamated and assimilated her dependencies? Let us ask one question: had England granted the 13 colonies an English citizenship would there have been a Revolutionary War? Had she granted citizenship to Ireland, Australia, Canada and South Africa, could she have amalgamated and assimilated them? Of course no one knows, but we feel that the denial of a common citizenship is what resulted in the virtual independence of all these nations and we feel that the granting of citizenship by United States to the 35 States which have joined the 13 colonies since 1789 has resulted in the amalgamation and assimilation of all this territory into our United States "Empire."

To be candid we must admit that the giving of such citizenship would have brought England under her parliamentary system face to face with certain difficulties that America under her federal system did not encounter in granting citizenship to the people of new States. When Vermont was admitted to the Union in 1791 Congress did not begin to legislate in matters local to Vermont, but had American Colonists gone to the British Parliament in 1776, they would have participated in making laws local to England and Scotland, likewise the Scotch and English members would have participated in making local laws for the widely differing American States. This difference between the federal system of the United States and the parliamentary system of Western Europe results from differing conceptions as to where sovereignty lies. The following quotation from Viscount Bryce indicates that under the federal system sovereignty at all times lies in the people, while under the parliamentary system it appears to lie in the legislative department or Parliament.

"The British Parliament had always been, was then and remains now, a sovereign constituent Assembly. It can make and unmake any and every law, change the form of government or the succession to the crown, interfere with the course of justice, extinguish the most sacred private rights of the citizen. Between it and the people at large there is no legal distinction, because the whole plentitude of the people's rights and powers resides in it, just as if the whole were present within the chamber where it sits.

In point of legal theory it is the nation, being the historical successor of the Folk Moot of our Teutonic forefathers.

"In the American system there exists no such body. The only power which is ultimately sovereign, as the British Parliament is always and directly sovereign, is the people of the States, acting in the manner prescribed by the Constitution, and capable in that manner of passing any law whatever in the form of a constitutional amendment."

Thus we see that England has her Constitutional Convention whenever Parliament is in session. In 1707 England in her Parliament or Constitutional Convention decided to "admit" Scotland as the United States admitted Vermont, but Scotland had to abandon her Parliament by like act in her Constitutional Convention. Thereafter the Scots were citizens of Great Britain and the domestic affairs of Scotland were in the control of the English Parliament which survived as the Constitutional Convention. In 1791 Vermont was admitted to the Union and elected members to Congress, but Congress thereby did not control local laws in Vermont. The legislature of Vermont retained this control, since joining the Union merely meant that the exterritorial affairs of Vermont were controlled by Congress. Bryce illustrates these points for both Americans and Europeans.

"The power of a State," (i.e. one of the United States) "over all communities within its limits is absolute. It may grant or refuse local government as it pleases. The population of New York City is one fourth of that of the State of New York. But the State might extinguish the municipality and govern the city by a single State Commission appointed for the purpose, or leave it without any government whatever. The City would have no right of complaint to the Federal President or Congress against such a measure. Massachusetts lately remodeled the city government of Boston just as the British Parliament might remodel that of Birmingham. Let an Englishman imagine a county council of Warwickshire suppressing the municipality of Birmingham, or a Frenchman imagine the department of the Rhone extinguishing the municipality of Lyons, with no possibility of intervention by the central authority, and he

will measure the difference between the American States and the local government of Western Europe."

The problem that confronted the 13 States in 1789 was the same that confronted the 2 States, England and Scotland in 1707, but was solved in different ways. Scotland yielded or suppressed her Parliament wholly while the 13 States retained their legislatures which remained supreme in all local matters; the local affairs of Scotland thereafter were governed from Westminster while the Scots at Westminster helped govern the local affairs of England. There was no division of citizenship under the parliamentary method, while in America citizenship was divided so that each State governed in matters local while Washington governed in matters exterritorial from the State point of view.

Have we not today this same choice? Surely World Citizenship points to the American method—for Europe a dual citizenship and for the United States a triple citizenship—while all our present-day peace plans are headed for the English solution or parliamentary system of retaining one citizenship, undivided. The League, Sovietism, Fascism or the national imperialism of some one nation must gain world ascendency and establish its citizenship as single and undivided with supreme jurisdiction in all matters, local and otherwise. None of these systems contemplate a dual or triple citizenship under the necessary rigid written constitutions dividing the functions of government.

"An observer who would study the tendencies which further or separate the world's organization as a unity, must realize today that he no longer has before him a sheet of white paper. Thirteen years ago one might guess and construct at will. In the interval the Great Powers have demolished and rebuilt with a speed and a sweep of arm which recall the impetus of a revolutionary movement. One may think that their work does not deserve to endure the assaults and attrition of time. But it is cast in the moulds statesmen use when they build a movement more lasting than brass. The Peace Treaties have legislated for the world; they engage the faith of most of its governments; and if faith cannot insure their performance, they have behind them the vested interests of the Powers

which concentrate in their own hands the vast mass of the Old World's military forces. Of these treaties one would gladly think that they are hasty essays in reconstruction which await a not too leisurely revision, but in form they seem as rigid as the American Constitution. On the foundation of this Peace Settlement, as its custodian and interpreter, the victors erected their League of Nations. It watches the map which they drew, like some towering fortress on a disturbed frontier. It too, has all time before it; it aims at permanence, and it is nothing less than the first model of an engine designed to control the world.

"The abandonment of the high doctrine of supremacy so complete as our argument requires, may seem unthinkable in our day, or within any period of time which practical men care to consider. The rooted conviction which a State or a ruling race possesses, that they enjoy absolute rights of property in their territory, is much too strong to permit, as yet, of the exercise by an international authority of the powers which seem to be necessary for the world's peace.

"So long as economic nationalism is the rule in Europe, so long must every State resist any development of international authority which might deprive it of territory.

"The fundamental question is the same issue which has confronted us at every turn of this argument. The national state must consent to sacrifice its absolute sovereignty, if the world is to enjoy peace with security."

We give these excerpts from Henry Brailsford as tending to show the impasse at which thought regarding peace has arrived. Our peace plans must possess power or sovereignty, our nations cannot and will not yield. But does not this thought pre-suppose that our new Great Society is to be based on the parliamentary system? Surely it does not vision the federal system of Bryce nor World Citizenship. Could we not better live under such a federal system as Bryce outlines than under our present perilous, competitive-armament conditions? Why would freedom be abridged? The citizens of today can scarcely be said to exercise any governmental control in exterritorial matters, unless you call threats to fight a form of governmental control, and Bryce has proved that under

the federal system the citizens of each nation would retain absolute control over their cities, and what is true of cities is true also of corporations, individuals, schools, local taxes, in short of all matters except those exterritorial.

It may be answered that such power for the World Union would not be adequate in view of the uncivilized conditions and practices of many nations today. In reply we can only point out that Territories under the American system have to establish, or have the capacity to establish, a republican form of government before admission to the Union. Till they arrive at this stage of political development the Union does regulate them. However, we must admit that many of our western States were admitted when they had crude governments and when many uncivilized practices were common. If the United States worried along with our "Wild West" violating all the local laws in the constitutional decalogue, perhaps a World Union could worry along with Russia while she is striving to accomplish her five year program. But in exterritorial matters the Black, the Brown, the Yellow and the White would all look alike. Bryce vividly sets this condition before us.

"'What then?' the European reader may ask, 'Is the National Government without the power and the duty of correcting the social and political evils which it may find to exist in a particular State, and which a vast majority of the nation may condemn? Suppose widespread brigandage to exist in one of the States, endangering life and property; suppose contracts to be arbitrarily broken, and no redress to be obtainable in the State Courts. Suppose the police to be in league with the assassins. Suppose the most mischievous laws to be enacted, laws, for instance, which recognize polygamy, leave homicide unpunished, drive away capital by imposing upon it an intolerable load of taxation. Is the nation obliged to stand by with folded arms while it sees a meritorious minority oppressed, the prosperity of the State ruined, a pernicious example set to other States? Is it to be debarred from its supreme authority to rectify these mischiefs?'

"The answer is, Yes. Unless the legislation or administration of such a State transgresses some provision of the Federal Constitu-

tion (such as that forbidding *ex post facto* laws, or laws impairing the obligation of a contract), the National government not only ought not to interfere but cannot interfere. The State must go its own way, with whatever injury to private rights and common interests its folly or perversity may cause.

"Such a case is not imaginary. In the Slave States before the war, although the negroes were not, as a rule, harshly treated, many shocking laws were passed, and society was going from bad to worse. In parts of a few of the western States at this moment, the roads and even the railways are infested by robbers, justice is uncertain and may be unattainable when popular sentiment does not support the law. Homicide often goes unpunished by the courts, although sometimes punished by Judge Lynch."

Today Americans may blush to think how recently such conditions existed in our country, but they might as well get used to blushing for our support of racketeers and bootleggers today shows that the same spirit prevails. Under the federal system it clearly appears that any nation, after joining the Union, can continue to sin their own pet sins without interference. This should let in even Mexico. This surely is an indictment against the federal system, but let us follow Bryce as he further analyzes this deplorable condition.

"So far from lamenting as a fault, though an unavoidable fault, of their Federal system, the State independence I have described, the Americans are inclined to praise it as a merit. They argue, not merely that the best way on the whole is to leave the State to itself, but that this is the only way in which a permanent cure of its diseases will be effected. They are consistant not only in their Federal principles but in their democratic principles. 'As *laissez aller*' they say, 'is the necessary course in a Federal government, so it is the right course in all free governments. Law will never be strong or respected unless it has the sentiment of the people behind it. If the people of a State make bad laws, they will suffer for it. They will be the first to suffer. Let them suffer. Suffering, and nothing else, will implant that sense of responsibility which is the first step to reform. Therefore let them stew in their own juice: let them make their bed and lie upon it. If they drive capital away, there will be

less work for the artisans; if they do not enforce contracts, trade will decline, and the evil will work out its own remedy sooner or later. Perhaps it will be later, rather than sooner: if so, the experience will be all the more conclusive. Is it said that the minority of wise and peacable citizens may suffer? Let them exert themselves to bring their fellows round to a better mind. Reason and experience will be on their side. We cannot be democrats by halves; and where self-government is given, the majority of the community must rule. Its rule will in the end be better than that of any external power.' No doctrine more completely pervades the American people, the instructed as well as the uninstructed. Philosophers will tell you that it is the method by which Nature governs, in whose economy error is followed by pain and suffering, whose laws carry their own sanction with them. Divines will tell you that it is the method by which God governs: God is a righteous Judge and God is provoked every day, yet He makes His sun to rise on the evil and the good, and sends His rain upon the just and the unjust. He does not directly intervene to punish faults, but leaves sin to bring its own appointed penalty. Statesmen will point to the troubles which followed the attempt to govern the reconquered seceding States, first by military force and then by keeping a great part of their population disfranchised, and will declare that such evils as still exist in the South are far less grave than those which the denial of ordinary self-government involved. 'So,' they pursue, 'Texas and California will in time unlearn their bad habits and come out right if we leave them alone; Federal interference, even had we the machinery needed for prosecuting it, would check the natural process by which the better elements in these raw communities are purging away the maladies of youth, and reaching the settled health of manhood.'

"A European may say that there is a dangerous side to this application of democratic faith in local majorities and in *laissez aller*. Doubtless there is: yet those who have learnt to know the Americans will answer that no nation better understands its own business."

The intelligentsia today have to combat the idea that the republican democracy of the western world is a failure. We hear on every hand that Sovietism or Fascism is likely to displace it in the affections of the masses. This growing legend of democracy's failure is based and supported largely by the belief that Wilson brought to Versailles democracy's last word, that arbitration as adopted by the United States and Europe and all other peace plans sponsored by the intelligentsia of Europe and America embody the answer of democracy to the challenge of the Twentieth Century: it is fostered by thoughtless journalists who persist in describing M. Briand's plans for an economic federation of Europe (which omits dual citizenship) as an attempt to create a "United States of Europe."

Dual citizenship, according to the Federalist and Bryce, is the basic distinguishing feature between the democracy of western Europe and of the United States, but where is it recognized in the thought of today? We are trying to resurrect this principle by embodying it in World Citizenship. While we freely admit the many admirable features of the parliamentary system as practised by the nations of western Europe, we maintain that the federal system of a dual citizenship is better adapted to world conditions, since as Bryce points out, it "furnishes the means of uniting commonwealths into one nation under one national government without extinguishing their separate administrations, legislatures and local patriotisms."

The fifth article by Mr. Ross on the subject of World Citizenship.

YOUTH DEMANDS PEACE

I. No More War!

by

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It has often been held that the only way to establish peace is to solidify its ideals for their formation into an institution. At present we have several such peace institutions, which are trying to muster up enough strength to combat and wipe out the institution of war. Their combined powers have not compared with the far-reaching power of the war institution, for they fail to have an effect over our immediate lives. Their workings are still too intangible for our appreciation. Our hearts may be held by the ideals of peace, but we are still held by the demands of war preparation from which we cannot escape. This preparation is demanded while the appeal for peace preparation is still weak-voiced. Unless the advocacy of peace becomes as dynamic as that of war and its organization has an effect on us as individuals, I fear for the success of our peace institutions as substitutes and equivalents for war.

At college we *dream* about permanent peace, but *prepare* for war. We take courses that paint the ideal of an international outlook and go back to vaunt our nationalistic spirit. We learn about such peace institutions as the League, the World Court, and international conferences, and regard them as wonderful but far off, out of our reach. It seems to be sheer mockery that we can look to both peace and war in such double-faced fashion. We cannot prepare for peace by brandishing swords. Those of us who cherish the ideals of peace should go out to fight for their preservation, but are afforded no outlet for such action. Peace must come down

out of the air as an ideal to become an active organization that embraces our lives.

After you have been won over by the ideals of peace, there develops an abhorrence of war. I believe one must be on either side, one cannot be neutral, for the spirit that fosters the war institution cannot ally with the spirit of peace. They are no bedfellows. To give play to the best efforts of either institution, it must be completely free from the drag of the other. So the peace institution must offer us a way to prepare for it as actively as we now prepare for war, in order that we can choose our road, since they lead in different directions. It is only by preparing for peace in this way that we can regard it as made of stern stuff, endurable and dynamic enough to replace war as a traditional institution. Peace must be more than an emotion.

All about us there is an ever-present consciousness of war which permeates us. The consideration of war sinks so deep into our inner consciousness that we feel it is a part of our lives, a part of the established order of things. It penetrates our souls, and so is handed down from generation to generation until it becomes a traditional part of the human scene. Because war always has been we are too easily led to believe that it always will be, with smug acceptance that is our greatest barrier to reform.

Great is the hold the war germ has on our lives, and on the life of our country. It keeps eating at us, sucking our life's blood to rob us of our vitality. It sucks the vitality of our lives by breeding such thoughts of the futility of life when "The Next War" lies ominously at hand. The germ takes its hold on thousands of men who must devote their time to constant preparation for the contingency of another war, distracting all their energy from effort in the promotion of peace. It poisons our hearts to give us such feelings of hatred for other countries. From the vitality of our nation it is just as gluttonous by taking about seventy per cent of its income for its greedy purposes. Besides sapping so much of its money it also takes up a tremendous part of its energy since so much of its time is taken up with the consideration of war activities. The germ has for years been hindering our progress and that of the world. It has

been eating farther and farther into our lives, demanding more and more of us. A little germ can completely break down the strength of a strong man and bring on his death. The war germ can get such a hold on the world that it can bring on the overthrow of civilization and the destruction of the world.

But must we passively accept war merely because it has always been a part of the human rôle? It is an unpleasant thought that an intelligent citizenry which has so recently seen the horrors of the past war, and with little imagination can foresee the inestimable destruction another war would bring, can remain so passively receptive of the war germ. Seeing that the germ has gotten such a hold on our adult population, we must then turn to the younger generation with the hope that the germ can be isolated before it takes hold. Unfortunately, however, youth is very susceptible to this germ, and easily gets it from the older generation that seems to do nothing for prevention.

Because of this perpetual war consciousness and activity we are told by ardent militarists that war must be a part of the human scene because man is by nature warlike. Up comes the argument of which came first, the egg or the chicken. But we do not in our natures inherit man-made institutions, we inherit the qualities that made for them. It happened that the expression of some of these qualities took the form of war as an outlet, and we have ever since used this outlet. We, youth, were not born warlike, the institution has been handed to us for the release of our qualities of patriotism and disinterested sacrifice, we know no other outlet, so we use the war institution.

If express ourselves we must, if exert our manliness and chivalry we must, why aren't we taught to use these virtues for constructive purposes? Why should all the fine inherent qualities such as devotion, cohesiveness, bravery, and vigor be wasted on such an unproductive a thing as war? Why could we not transform the zeal that makes us actively prepare for war for use in peace time activities? We would in this way be using the military virtues for the recreation of the world instead of for preparation for its destruction.

But the opportunity youth offers for the promotion of peace is lost when the workings of the war propaganda has taken its hold. Consciously or unconsciously it ably victimizes the mind of youth in its most formative years. For instance, in books and in the movies, youth is shown mainly the romantic side of war, the pleasure of comradeship, the opportunities for heroism, the glory of the return home. War can be quite pleasurable when witnessed from a comfortable seat in a luxuriant movie palace to the accompaniment of music. Youth doesn't learn that this is only a small part of war and that most of the time it is quite different, that men stay for days, weeks and months in stinking trenches, sinking in grimy muck with an odor of rotting bodies until their feet become paralyzed, until they become half starved from lack of food,—and then are ordered like so many sheep to charge through a hell fire of flying shrapnel, bursting bombs, rattling machine guns and rifles, over a ground torn up by shells and strewn with parts of bodies, through pools of water, over barbed wire, all the while they are being killed off like rats to be left in the most horrible tortures of an inglorious death,—death that would now be a blessing, but is all too short in coming to the frightful distress of the boy who went out to fight for his country, "to make the world safe for democracy,"—"to protect womanhood,"—or some other vague notion that trapped him, and which he has long since learned to regard as mere bait.

Why don't they show youth this? Why isn't it shown that there is no glory in a war that is fought for an ignoble cause, such as the gratification of the imperial ambitions of a selfish ruler who blindly throws the destiny of millions of lives into the scales of his own ambition? Why isn't youth shown that the scant glory men felt in the war was like the temporary exultation of a drunken spirit, and that after the ebullition had worn off there remained a stultification of the senses, an aftermath of mental and moral instability, and a lack of all ambition and hope?

Following the war picture, the news reel carries on the work by showing how different countries are constantly preparing for war. A picture of Germany's new warship is flashed on, that can

outspeed all others of her class, a picture of Italy's new bomber that can hold just a few more explosives, and mimic war manoeuvres on the Pacific coast. We learn to keenly watch our country's preparation and consider it with a pride that soon may lead to mockery of other countries, and the vaunting of our own superiority, which so easily breeds contempt for other nations: "That contemptible little army."

Having been captured mentally by the nobility of war, having been ably propagandized, we are quite tractible material to be used for more active preparation for war. We are led into the Military Training Schools, the ROTC, the Citizen's Military Training Camps quite easily for by this time the war germ has gotten us in its grasp. Here youth individually develops that feeling of daring superiority that in a nation is one of the important causes of war. Furthermore, youth learns to regard another war as a certainty—else why the preparation? Youth is disciplined to obey to the letter the orders that it is given. No room is left for originality or individuality—instead youth is so over-disciplined that it learns to sit and obey. This is the kind of discipline that makes youth a mass of easily handled material—cannon fodder!

But my desire is not to prepare for another war which has developed to be the most horrible, most ungainfully destructive force of our present-day world. War can no longer be defended on the grounds of individual bravery or chivalry. Those days are gone—never to return. If the realities of the past war are not enough to make one shudder, the predictions of a future war hold incredibly more horrors by stifling all individual effort and bravery in a mass slaughter which will regard no proprieties, no meek limitations, and no chivalrous traditions. It will be a war of science in which the forces man has discovered will overwhelm him for his own destruction. Cannot intelligence that has set these forces in action guide them for its use, or are we mortals weaker than the giants we have cultured?

And so in a program for the promotion of peace I should regard by what means war has taken such a hold on us so as to make us think it is a permanent institution. I should first go to the younger

generation to prevent the war from taking hold by completely stripping war of all its romance, telling its horrors and of its inestimable destruction. After youth has then seen the futility of war, educate it to the glories of peace as it was formerly taught the romance of war. Reverse the propaganda by producing more books and movies that show the horror and destruction of war, and the absolute necessity of peace.

If preparation for a possible war makes it necessary for the government to promote extensive military organization, why should not preparation for peace time activities make such organization essential for this far more permanent part of our lives? If the government as a central organization could actively prepare for peace, it could be of inestimable help in establishing the peace habit. We should have a National Peace Department just as we have the departments of Army and Navy. If seven million dollars can be spent annually by these two departments, cannot a part of this be devoted to a far more lastingly beneficial department of peace? A Secretary of Peace should sit in the President's cabinet; his duties would be to supervise peace education throughout the United States and promote friendly relations with other nations. It should not be made necessary for this important work to be carried on by disunited organizations, and philanthropical private citizens.

Such a department could have many offices both here and abroad to promote its work. It could put out peace posters and publications of all kinds, hold peace exhibits, and maintain peace libraries. It could use the radio and the motion pictures for peace education, sponsor exchange students and professors, an International University, just as we now sponsor West Point and Annapolis. It could sponsor International Relations Training Corps and International Camps, just as we now sponsor the ROTC, and the Citizens Military Training Camps. It could organize in many ways on a similar basis as the organization of the Departments of Army and Navy, and all this preparation would still not be nearly as expensive as our military preparation with its outrageous expenditures, such as spending about thirty million dollars for one battleship.

It is only in such a program as this that there could be enough power to make us peace conscious so that we could think peace could become a permanent institution. This program would afford an outlet for our ambitions to fight for peace and could substitute the manly virtues released in war service for use in peace time activity. We would soon be on the road to establishing an equivalent for war in our national life. We would obtain a more active devotion to our country, healthier sympathies for its people and the people of other nations. We could replace sympathy and friendly relations for ignorance and fear. The realization would come to us that all the world is working towards the same ends and it would be ridiculous to hinder our mutual progress by the physical and mental degradation of another war.

Let us all accept responsibility for wiping out our war consciousness by extolling the glories of peace. Peace is our concern, it cannot be built in documents. If we do not accept responsibility, it is shoved off on the shoulders of our already over-burdened leaders who in this way are allowed to control our destiny. Then dangerous things develop; poorly assigned responsibility was one of the causes of the last war. Rulers were over-burdened, disorder arose, trouble piled up. The ball was rolling, propaganda started its work of creating a reason for fighting through its appeals to the easily approached loyalties which drive men on. Then people were ordered into the stockyard slaughterhouse of the battlefield before they had a chance. The brook becomes a river, the river overflows, carrying all with it—yes the whole world. Then people object—are unheard—it is too late.

Now is the time for thought and action, before we drift any more. There is a great, serious need for capable leaders, leaders with fiery spirits, wholehearted patriotism, and passionate zeal to go out and fight for peace, to stir us to activity by appealing to our emotions, our reason, and our commonsense. We want leaders that can rouse us from ourselves, so fire us that we will feel in our hearts a hatred for war that we will want to go out and shout: *We outlaw war—and will fight for peace.* When our spirit has thus been

aroused we will be able to kill the odious war germ, and say *we won't fight again.*

I make an appeal to youth, a call for volunteers to stand up for peace. There is work to be done and it can ably be done by the younger generation that is not yet tied down in the world. We should have a youth movement inspired by the ideals of peace, for youth should be most concerned with the problem of war and peace since it is on them that the yoke of another war would bear heaviest. Rise up, youth of America, youth of the world, the world is your heritage, fight for its preservation, make your demands! Your enthusiasm and zeal will be justly rewarded. Say: "We won't be used for cannon fodder. We won't go out and violate our conscience by murdering and slaughtering people for whom we hold no hate. We won't toss up everything that we have held dear in a moment's appeal to glory. We will have *no more war!*"

The first contribution to a symposium conducted by undergraduates of Amherst College.

BOOK NOTES

The History of Peace, by A. C. F. Beales. The Dial Press. Mr. Beales has made a most significant contribution to the Peace movement and, in fact, to social consciousness generally, by tracing the historical development of the organized effort to achieve international order. Here we have the post-war Peace movement in its true perspective, as the culmination of moral and intellectual forces which originated far back in time. After sketching in the philosophical theory of war and peace, and the evolution of schemes of world peace, the author begins his history with the Peace Societies which came into existence after the Napoleonic Wars, and follows their gradual consolidation and expansion to the present time. The book is not propaganda but a work of scholarship based on knowledge of facts and illumined with the spirit of philosophy. It is a book not only for the active peace worker but also for the intelligent student of history in the usual sense of the term. Mr. Beales has succeeded not merely in his immediate task but in addition has supplied human values to the sequence of events not discernible in nationalistic history nor in historical studies which emphasize institutions rather than human ideals.

The Quakers As Pioneers in Social Work, by Auguste Jorns; translated by Thomas K. Brown, Jr. The Macmillan Company. The attitude maintained by the Quakers during the War and post-war period has given this body of Christians a public interest altogether out of proportion to their numerical strength. They are recognized as having faithfully maintained certain essential Christian ideals long abandoned by other demoninations. Dr. Jorns follows a brief outline of the Quaker movement with chapters dealing successively with the subjects of Poor Relief, Education,

The Battle Against Alcoholism, Public Health: Care of the Insane, Prison Reform, The Abolition of the Slave Trade and of Slavery—the major problems of the modern world. As the reader learns how much has been accomplished for humanity by the unselfish and devoted labor of one small religious community, he begins to appreciate what vast spiritual resources are latent in mankind, and what a different society will come into being when the world attains moral solidarity. This book may not serve to induce many people to become Quakers, but it does serve to make Quakerism a challenge to the Christianity of every established church.

The International Note in Contemporary Drama, by Evelyn Newman. The Kingsland Press. This work is part of a larger work on the international note in contemporary literature which will present the attitude of novelists and dramatists toward the problem of war and peace during the significant period beginning about 1900 and terminating about 1931. Dr. Newman has made this study a life work. Far more than "war memorials" of stone and steel these volumes honor those slain in the European War, since they preserve the spiritual values created by writers on both sides the battle line, who shared the agony of the common soldier and attempted to raise that agony to the level of universal human experience capable of eliminating war from human society. The present volume deals with the Drama of the Pre-War Years, Drama of the War Years, Drama with Historical Backgrounds, Drama of the Post-War Years, and America's Contribution. In essence, it shows to what degree "culture" has passed from the glorification of war to the development of peace.

Courses on International Affairs in American Colleges, 1930-1931, by Farrell Symons; with Introduction by James T. Shotwell. World Peace Foundation. This is a book which could only have been prepared through the resources of an endowed organization carrying out privately important social tasks which, in a truly civilized age, would be initiated and sustained by the government. As the title makes clear, Mr. Symons presents every undergraduate course in all American Colleges which can be listed as "interna-

tional" in its bearing. The book, in fact, is a catalogue of these courses, reproducing the descriptions issued in the college catalogues separately, followed by tables of Comparative Analysis and a Classification of Courses by Subjects. The World Peace Foundation has made possible a book of reference the ultimate effect of which should be to intensify the trend of our educational facilities toward an international point of view. Had courses in post-graduate institutions been included, the book would possess even greater value as a detailed survey of American educational resources in their bearing upon an internationalized world.

The Negro in American Civilization, by Charles S. Johnson. Henry Holt and Company. "To construct a reasonably faithful contemporary picture of Negro life and relationships with the white race in the United States, was the purpose of the long process which has culminated in this book," writes Mary van Kleeck in her Foreword, and explains the "long process" in an account of the cooperation undertaken by sixteen national organizations concerned with improvement of race relations in America. The writing of the book, indeed, has great interest apart from the value of the text. A conference of the sixteen organizations led to the formation of an executive committee, which in turn revealed the lack of material dealing with the matter of race relations as a whole. A mass of data was accumulated and turned over to Dr. Johnson, previously editor of *Opportunity* and at the time head of the Department of Social Science, Fisk University. The material at the author's command represented the result of investigation and research by a special committee which included experts in every branch of social science. Dr. Johnson's final result is a work which marks a turning-point in the history of race relations in the United States. Its preparation indicated a moral and intellectual unity on the part of responsible leaders of both races, a significant index of the times, and the book itself will long stand as the point of departure for every study of the problem. This book is divided into two parts, The Problem and The Problem Discussed. Its scope appears from the following chapter headings: Migration, The

Negro Working Population, The Agricultural Negro, Racial Susceptibility and Immunity, The Beginnings of Negro Education, The Question of Citizenship Rights and Privileges, Racial Attitudes. Part Two consists of contributions by different authors, presented with the report of the conference discussion on each contribution. Among the authors are: Niles Carpenter, Louis I. Dublin, Raymond Pearl, Thorsten Sellin, W. E. B. Du Bois, and Herbert A. Miller. It would be useless to say "Every American should read this book." Spiritual insight and human sympathy are privileges and not duties. What can usefully be said, perhaps, is that not England and India, not France and Germany, not the United States and Soviet Russia, but the white and colored races in the United States represent the extreme polarity of human experience in this age. The point of chief tension is here. The prolongation of the race problem in America has made us blind to the international situation and crippled our power to assume the responsibility for initiative in the solution of world problems according to human standards of justice. If the American race problem develops to the point of real explosion, the props will be removed from civilization itself. If that problem can be solved, the solution will bring into being the solution of every major problem facing the world in this age. Destiny has made America the theatre of one of the chief episodes in the epic of man.

The Meaning of the Glorious Koran, by Marmaduke Pickthall. Alfred A. Knopf. This is an "explanatory translation" of the Koran, by an English scholar converted to the Faith of Muhammad. The translator states in his Foreword that "the aim of this work is to present to English readers what Muslims the world over hold to be the meaning of the words of the Koran, and the nature of that Book." Its appearance at this time signifies the readiness of the West to accept the Koran as one of the Holy Books and not, on the one hand, an expression of "Anti-Christ" and on the other a negligible source of Oriental culture. As Christendom has at last come face to face with the Muslim world on terms of political and economic equality, so Christianity must at last come to terms with

Muslim religion. If the Koran is rejected as the work of a "false" prophet, then the resulting antagonistic relations between East and West will destroy the West. If the Koran is accepted as religion in terms of one race and one era, and Christianity is held on the same terms, a common moral foundation can be laid for world unity, and both peoples rid of the incubus of non-moral sectarian institutions which survive only through preaching hate. It will be an amazing experience for the average Christian to learn that Muhammad taught his followers to love Jesus. The "holy war" was instigated on our side of the religious frontier.

The Grass Roof, by Younghill Kang. Charles Scribner's Sons. The author of this biographical work is the descendent of an ancient Korean family, whose youth was spent in the study of the classics of China. The racial traditions of his people were interrupted by the Japanese invasion, and Korea took up the tremendous task of adapting itself to life in the modern industrial world. Younghill Kang is the embodiment of this racial crisis. His life connects the period of exquisite calm, unbroken for thousands of years, with the shock of the Japanese invasion, and carries onward to the achievement of mastering Western thought and Western life. The author at present teaches English literature at New York University. One may read *The Grass Roof* as an intensely interesting novel, or as a truthful picture of Korea in both ancient and modern dress, or as the biography of a man whose personal experiences and achievement place him among Plutarch's heroic and dateless Lives.

Modern Architecture, by Frank Lloyd Wright. Princeton University Press. This book contains the lectures Mr. Wright was invited to deliver before Princeton undergraduates interested in architecture. He deals with Machinery, Materials and Men, Style in Industry, The Passing of the Cornice, The Cardboard House, The Tyranny of the Skyscraper, and The City. The book is beautifully printed and contains illustrations of many of Wright's own designs. Architecture has become one of the public issues of the age. Frank Lloyd Wright interprets that issue as Whistler interpreted the issue of art a generation ago. Those for whom the

Empire State Building or the New School for Social Research is an "inner experience" may read *Modern Architecture* and find themselves more intimately related to the life of the times. Architecture has become a subject for laymen for the reason that it is the frontier between the creative instinct and machine industry. For the moment it is more significant than music or painting.

The Civilizations of the East, by René Grousset. Alfred A. Knopf. This work is volume one of a series of four volumes which will present a general history of Asiatic arts and supply the political, social and literary backgrounds of the countries dealt with. It is announced as a work which "will enable the reader to follow, step by step, the whole *cultural development* of Oriental civilization." The French translation was made by Catherine Alison Phillips. It would be difficult to imagine any type of reader incapable of responding to this book. Three hundred and thirteen illustrations make it an "Oriental picture book"—a veritable graphic museum displaying reproductions of the pottery, tapestries, miniatures and architecture which hold the secrets of the Eastern soul. The present volume has chapters on Neolithic Civilization, Egyptian Civilization, Chaldeo-Assyrian Civilizaton, Persian Pre-Islamic Civilization, Arab Civilization, and Persian Islamic Civilization. It is a work which stimulates interest, feeds enthusiasm and leaves behind a solid residue of increased understanding. Back far enough we were probably all of us "Oriental" if by the term we mean a type and not a place. M. Grousset has consequently produced a book which enriches the reader by reminding him of spiritual treasures long ago yielded up by Occidentals in the struggle for existence.

H. H.

Any book listed or reviewed in *World Unity* will be sent postpaid on receipt of the publisher's retail price. Readers are also reminded of the invaluable reading list, "Reading List of Current Books on World Unity and International Cooperation," compiled by John Herman Randall and published by this magazine. Copies postpaid, five cents each.

EDITORIAL ANNOUNCEMENTS

The year beginning October, 1931, will have a decisive bearing on the future of civilization. The depression has already been prolonged to a degree where any political solution of the peace problem will have to satisfy far-reaching economic questions and lay a foundation for a new order of social justice.

With government, industry, finance and religion all cast into the melting pot, the spirit of knowledge has been tremendously stimulated among responsible people of all classes and creeds. International understanding has become the animating principle of modern society, and the new outlook it implies carries the hope that the present period of ferment and revolution is but preliminary to a worldwide renaissance.

World Unity Magazine begins its fifth year with an editorial program so varied and inclusive that it may be taken as the foundation of any plan of reading intended to throw light on the nature and trends of the age in which we live.

Orient and Occident, by Hans Kohn, a series of six articles dealing with the vital problem of the relations between East and West. Dr. Kohn's book, "A History of Nationalism in the East," is regarded as the authority in its field.

The Novel of the War Years, by Evelyn Newman, to be published in six instalments. This important work is the second section of "The International Note in Contemporary Fiction," and has not only cultural but also spiritual value in presenting the true attitude of the greatest writers in England, France, Germany and America during the war period.

The Coming World Order, a symposium edited by Archie M. Palmer, Associate Secretary, Association of American Colleges. Begun in December, 1930, this series will be continued into 1932. Among the authors participating are: F. S. Marvin, Graham H. Stuart, Parker Thomas Moon, Rufus M. Jones, C. F. Ansley, Archie M. Palmer, Carl A. Ross, Charles Stow, A. Eustace Haydon, Mary Hull, Aurelia H. Reinhardt, Abba Hillel Silver, Taracknath Das, Ramananda Chatterjee, etc.

International Cooperation, by Manley O. Hudson, Bemis Pro-

fessor of International Law, Harvard University, a series of studies in the new law of nations, originally delivered as lectures at Calcutta University.

China's Changing Culture, by Frank Rawlinson, Editor of "The Chinese Recorder," Shanghai, an interpretation of the movements transforming one of the world's pivotal peoples.

East and West: Why They Are Different, by Grover Clark, Consultant on Far Eastern Affairs, two articles which explore the problem of how the races of the two hemispheres came to evolve along such different lines.

Apostles of World Unity, by various authors, have become an important contribution to the peace movement by giving brief biographical sketches of the men and women whose heroic effort has in our times made international peace the supreme public problem.

This Praying World, by John William Kitching, a series of six articles which reveal the underlying moral and religious unity of the race by citing the great prayers of the so-called "pagan" peoples. This is a valuable contribution to the increasing literature dealing with comparative religion.

The League of Nations and the United States, by Elizabeth W. Bassett, Washington Irving High School, New York, reviews understandingly the history of the relations of America to the League and suggests the course of their future development. In three chapters, one of which has already appeared.

Youth Demands Peace, a symposium edited by Henry Schmidt, Jr. To be published in six chapters, each written by an undergraduate of Amherst College. In these articles we have a direct and significant contact with the mind of the younger generation. The authors include, beside Henry Schmidt, Richard G. Gettell, Dwight Morrow, Jr., Henry H. Stebbins, James Alfred Guest and others to be announced.

Book Reviews, by John Herman Randall, Jr., Department of Philosophy, Columbia University.

World We Live In, presenting the aims and purposes of important organizations dealing with world problems, each contribution written by an officer of the organization.

WOMEN'S CLUBS AND EDUCATIONAL CENTERS

Letters from World Unity Readers — IV

I read World Unity eagerly every month—all of it. I like its open-minded, challenging approach to all sorts of major human problems, in terms of worldwide understanding and a humanized civilization.

Its editors see clearly that the one way to realize its purpose to release the finer aspirations of mankind is to make available the views of creative workers on subjects of intrinsic import, emergent higher life values. The truly international character of its Contributing Editors, and of the published material, reflects this realization.

The series of articles on "Elements of a World Culture" illustrates the liberal note indicated in that series; Overstreet's plea for evolutional-minded teachers who will teach history, literature, science and all studies in their human context and world background, and for pioneering creativeness—that plea is typical of World Unity.

To read the "Leaves of the Greater Bible" is to liberalize one's religious life. The biographies under "Apostles of World Unity" are both informative and inspiring.

To bring these and other such values into the open means to pioneer for the spirit of the amateur, for good sportsmanship, for genuine world unity.

I find students reading the magazine regularly and thoughtfully. They refer to it frequently in class. They like it. This suggests its use in reading circles, women's clubs and adult educational centers, and its inclusion in the magazine lists of all school, college and public libraries.

E. M. Highsmith

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LECTURES BY EUROPEAN SCHOLARS

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DR. HANS KOHN

Dr. Hans Kohn, author of "A History of Nationalism in the East," will be available from October to the end of December to lecture on the following subjects: The Meaning of Nationalism in Modern History; Religion and Nationalism; Cultural and Political Nationalism; Nationalism as a Productive and a Disruptive Force; The Political and Social Transformation of the Middle East; Orient and Occident; The Emancipation of Women in the East; Russia and the Orient; The Outlook for European Civilization; Bolshevism and Nationalism, etc. (A series of six chapters on "Orient and Occident" by Dr. Kohn begins in the present issue of World Unity Magazine).

DR. v. SCHULZE-GAEVERNITZ

Dr. v. Schulze-Gaevernitz has for a number of years been head of the Department of Economics at the University of Frieburg, for twelve years served as member of the German Reichstag, and was one of those who framed the German Constitution adopted by the National Assembly of Weimar. He has also been head of the scientific department of the Institute for Intellectual Cooperation of the League of Nations. During the autumn and winter he will be available to lecture on the following subjects: Tendencies of Modern Capitalism in Europe; The Problem of Machinery—Prosperity or Unemployment?; Social Ideals of the Anglo-American Free Churches; Social Ideals of the German Classics; The Present World Depression: Its Cause and Cure; America and Europe: Dangers and Possibilities of Interdependence; Pan-Europe—a Political and Economic Problem, etc.

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